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TRACTS, &c.

TRACTS,

POLITICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL,

27295

AND

COMMERCIAL

ON

THE DOMINIONS OF AVA,

AND

THE NORTH WESTERN PARTS

1793

OF

HINDOSTAUN.

BY WILLIAM FRANCKLIN,

MAJOR IN THE SERVICE OF THE HON. EAST INDIA COMPANY, AND AUTHOR OF A TOUR TO PERSIA, THE HISTORY OF SHAH-AULUM, AND THE MEMOIRS OF GEORGE THOMAS, &c.

"Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci."

HOR. EPIST.

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TO THE MOST NOBLE

RICHARD MARQUIS WELLESLEY,

K.B. & Kt.

LATE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA, &c. &c.

THESE TRACTS ARE INSCRIBED,

IN TESTIMONY OF RESPECT,

NOT LESS FOR HIS LORDSHIP'S DISTINGUISHED

ABILITIES

AS A STATESMAN,

EXERTED

FOR THE PROTECTION AND ADVANCEMENT

OF

THE INTERESTS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

IN THE EAST,

THAN AS A TRIBUTE OF

PERSONAL ESTEEM AND GRATITUDE

FROM

HIS MOST OBLIGED

AND FAITHFUL

HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

to have been employed. The mission at that time did not take place. These documents have never been made public, and as the only correct account of Modern Ava is to be found in the publication of Colonel Symes, a splendid and valuable work; it is hoped that the public inclination will not be averse to receiving the separate opinions on the same subject of two gentlemen equally qualified to supply information.

The historical detail of RAJEPOOTANEH is translated from a Persian MS. obtained through the friendship of that valuable man and eminent politician General William Palmer, a gentleman whose transcendent services and diplomatic abilities, during a long residence at some of the principal courts of Hindostaun, have been long since duly and deservedly appreciated and applauded by his countrymen at home.

PREFACE.

THE documents relating to *Ava* in the present volume, were procured chiefly from the papers of the late Captain Hiram Cox, whilst deputed on a mission to that court by the government of Bengal. Those papers were consigned to the author's charge by command of the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley, then Governor General of India, and the Noble Marquis was pleased to approve the author's exertion in framing some memorials thereon, at a time when his Lordship intended some further communication with the Birmah government, on which the author was

The political papers respecting the state of NORTH-WESTERN INDIA, are also extracted from documents delivered to government by the late General George Thomas, and were prepared by the author and presented to Marquis Wellesley in 1802-3.

A residence of 26 years in India, in the service of the Honourable the East India Company; a diligent and attentive observation of the manners, customs, and languages of Asia, from an early period of life, aided by personal inquiries, and much travel in various parts of the East, will, it is hoped, justify the author in tendering the following tracts to his countrymen, and in once more intruding on the indulgence of a candid and liberal public. He cherishes a hope that his labours on the present occasion, while they assist the in-

quiries or direct the studies of youth to the acquirement of Indian politics, may also yield no inconsiderable gratification to the traveller or man of letters in Europe.

WILLIAM FRANCKLIN.

Benâres, 29th Sept. 1808.

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TRACTS,

&c.

OBSERVATIONS, &c. ON THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE ENVOY TO THE COURT OF AVA.

DELIVERED TO MR. EDMONSTONE, JULY 1, 1801.

THE omission of particular points in the instructions given to the two former missions to the Court of Ava, appears to me to deserve a serious attention in the present Embassy; many of the difficulties under which former deputies laboured may be obviated, and a clear and explicit understanding be hereby mutually established between the representative of the British government and the Birmah court.

Under this impression, I beg leave humbly to submit to his Excellency, the most noble the Governor-General in Council, the following considerations on this subject, arising from a perusal of the various papers and documents committed to my charge.

1st, As no adequate idea of the power and authority of the British government in Asia, has hitherto been entertained by the Birmah court, it appears from the treatment experienced both by Captains Symes and Cox, that their character as Ambassadors was not sufficiently understood, or if it was, the Court of Ava pretended ignorance of that circumstance, by considering, and treating, those gentlemen in the inferior light of commercial agents only; in consequence of which, they did not experience that personal respect which was undoubtedly due to the representatives of the Governor-General of India.

The causes of this want of respect to the

persons of the Ambassadors, may be traced, in the commencement, to their instructions having, in some respects, been inexplicit; more especially in two of the points to which the attention of Captain Cox was directed, viz. the establishment of a commercial intercourse between the two countries, and the counteraction of the French influence in Ava.

To illustrate which, I beg leave to submit the paragraphs, No. 11, 12, 13, and 14, of Captain Cox's general letter of instructions, dated 27th June, 1796.

Paragraph 11. "The commerce between "the two countries cannot be promoted by "any specific efforts on your part. It must "be left to its natural course, and your "occasional interference must be limited "to procure redress for injuries sustained "by the subjects, and to prevent, as far as "possible, any misconduct on their part."

Paragraph 12. "Your own reflections "will suggest to you the necessary cautions

" to be observed in the discharge of this
" part of your duty. When the officers of
" the Ava government are disposed to
" listen to the complaints of the British
" subjects, or their agents; and to grant
" redress, your interference cannot be want-
" ed, and it is certainly prudent to avoid it
" on such occasions.

" The impatience of the aggrieved may
" not always correspond with the forms of
" administering justice in Ava, and this
" consideration will suggest to you the pro-
" priety of avoiding importunity in your
" representations for redress, when the de-
" lay proceeds from such causes."

" On the other hand, as the intempe-
" rance and misconduct of British subjects
" may not only bring odium on the British
" name and character, but affect the dispo-
" sition evinced by the Birmah government
" to promote the intercourse between the
" two nations, you will take care to let it
" be known that it is your enjoined duty

" to watch over the conduct of British " traders in Ava, and to report to this " government the names of any individuals " who may be guilty of misconduct; and " that such as offend against the laws of the " country, will be subjected to the penal- " ties of those laws, without being entitled " to your interference in their favor or pro- " tection."

With respect to the first part of the paragraph, it may naturally be asked, could the commerce between the two countries be promoted in any manner, if left solely to its natural course, and no specific effort made on the part of the Ambassador? Acquainted, as we are, with the pride and arrogance of the Birmah court, is it to be expected that, without a specific demand being made, there can be any reasonable hope of success? To carry into effect the important measure of impressing the Birmah court with a due sense of our power and authority, it is necessary that the Ambassador be empower-

ed to make specific demands, grounded on the basis of reciprocal advantage to both countries. Those demands must, of course, be answered agreeably to the diplomatic rights and privileges established among all civilized nations. A firm and temperate demand, if made in the outset, might be attended with the desired success. The preliminary conferences with the ministers at Amerapoorah should be explanatory of the principle of this demand, and if the mutual advantages, to be gained by either nation, are pointed out in a clear and explicit manner, it is reasonable to expect that it will be acquiesced in with cheerfulness.

Had Captain Cox been so fortunate as to continue on the amicable footing, which he once established with the ministers at the capital, there is every reason to suppose he would have effected that intercourse with satisfaction to both parties.* I am of opinion,

* See his correspondence.

that a decided authority over the conduct of British merchants residing at Ava, not having been vested in the person of the Envoy, has been one cause of failure in effecting the commercial points proposed in Captain Cox's instructions. I have already had the honour to state my sentiments on this head in my Memorial, marked No. 3; and, in addition, can only suggest to the wisdom of his Excellency, the good effect that may be experienced from the Envoy receiving an unequivocal authority over the conduct of British merchants, and other British subjects residing in Ava, as far as is connected with the maintenance of our national character.

It might, moreover, prove of great benefit, to have this authority publicly notified to the ministers of the Ava governments, on the arrival of the Ambassador at Rangoon or Amerapoorah, in order that the natives may receive a proper impression of the weight and dignity of the Embassy at large,

and, by consequence, become more inclined to commence a negotiation, when they perceive there is real, not fictitious, authority invested in the person of the representative. Had either Col. Symes or Captain Cox been sufficiently apprized of the necessity of a regulation of this nature, before they commenced their negotiations, I am persuaded they would have remained at Rangoon until the opinion of their own government could be ascertained on a point of such importance to the success of the mission. Captain Cox was publicly opposed and thwarted on several occasions; and Col. Symes, in the memorial which he delivered to the ministry at Amerapoorah, a short time previous to his departure, has stated, with energy and firmness, the degrading manner in which the Birmah court had thought fit to treat him, and deprecated a renewal of similar humiliations.

On the 13th and 14th paragraphs of the

same letter I have some remarks to offer, and it will, therefore, be necessary to give them at length.

Paragraph 13. "The consequence to be "apprehended from the establishment of "the French influence in the ports or "dominions of Ava, and of their partici- "pating to any extent in the trade of the "country at a future period, are fully de- "tailed in the governor-general's minute."

"To counteract their measures for the "establishment of this influence, will re- "quire your particular attention; and "during the continuance of the present "war, it will also be extremely desirable "to prevent their privateers or ships of "war obtaining supplies in the Birmah "ports, as well as the admission and sale of "their prizes."

Paragraph 14. "You are not authorized "to require any concessions on those points "from the Ava government, and your "success must depend upon your address "alone.

"It may be promoted by impressing the "Birmah government with adequate no- "tions of the British power in India, whilst "you obviate the risk of exciting jea- "lousy or misapprehension, by a clear ex- "position of the pacific principles by which "its intercourse with foreign nations is re- "gulated; and as the deputation of a person "of rank to Calcutta, (of which an inten- "tion was once entertained by the king of "Ava,) appears to afford the most likely "means of their receiving proper impres- "sions on these points, you will give every "encouragement to such deputation, should "the king resume his intentions of sending "it, by hinting at such a measure, should "circumstances induce you to believe that "it would be favourably received, and by "expressing the governor-general's regret "that he has been deprived of the oppor- "tunity of shewing his sense of his majesty's "attention to Col. Symes, by a similar "attention to his majesty's envoy."

To counteract the long-known influence acquired by our inveterate enemy in the Birmah dominions, even at the time when our own appeared to preponderate, demands both active exertion and address. The concurrent testimony of Col. Symes and Captain Cox, point out the necessity of entering into a firm and solid alliance with this nation, as the only means of combating with effect, the ascendency which French politics have already acquired. This I humbly conceive can only be done by evincing a sincere desire, on our part, of forming it; and by exhibiting to the eyes as well as senses of the Birmahs, our capability to support and protect them against all opposition, whether foreign or domestic. But unfortunately in the paragraph above transcribed, it appears, that though this object was deemed highly desirable, the means to obtain it were not afforded either to Col. Symes or Captain Cox; they are told not to demand concessions on this head, but are left

to the operation of their own dexterity and address, on a point of the utmost importance. They are told, it may be done by impressing the Birmah nation with an adequate idea of the British power in India; but how can this be done when the Court of Ava affects, with a haughtiness peculiar to itself, to consider them in the light of tributaries to its own sovereign?

In the event of entering into an alliance with Birmah, the facilities of the understanding might be improved by a liberal distribution of presents, in the outset, to the ministers of the Ava government.* 2dly, By offering the assistance of our troops to support and protect them. 3dly, By removing the disaffected Ava chiefs now residing on the banks of the Nâf, to the interior of our own districts, by which means the jealousy of the Birmah court would be dispelled. In return for these services, the Ambassadors

* See Captain Symes, *passim*.

may be empowered to require the total expulsion of the French from the dominions of Ava, and at the same time solicit permission to establish factories for commercial purposes at Rangoon, Mergui, and Bassien. By such means the insidious designs of the French in the Eastern Archipelago will be frustrated in their birth, and the commercial relations between the Birmahs and the different British presidencies, be established upon a permanent basis. The time, perhaps, is not far distant, when the designs of France with regard to Ava (the only path by which she can now enter) will be attempted; but our authority in Hindoostan, the vicinity of our frontier, in the event of hostilities, and above all, the power we possess to punish them, will most probably, if the present negotiations be conducted with firmness, induce that government to give a preference to British influence. To their not having hitherto felt the weight of our arms, must be attributed the arrogance with

which they have treated the successive missions; while the contest of the Stockades in 1796, on the banks of the Nâf, may serve to confirm them in a belief that we are not irresistible. Another circumstance appears, in my judgment, to be of considerable importance, viz. The situation of the person deputed in regard to his rank, his consideration, and his personal dignity. In a government like that of Ava, supremely despotic, where the grandeur of the Monarch imposes the most implicit obedience on his own subjects, nothing is so likely to have effect in negotiations with an European power, as external splendor. In our intercourse with the different powers of Hindoostan, the path is plain and easy; prescriptive custom has established a ceremonial for each of those courts, which has been confirmed and sanctioned from the days of Tamerlane; so that nothing remains for an Ambassador to those countries, but to pursue the road chalked out by his prede-

cessors. In Ava, the case is widely different; disdaining acquiescence in the modes and customs adopted by other nations, the haughty Birmahs expect a blind and implicit obedience to be paid to the will of their sovereign, by complying with the same humiliating ceremonies as those exacted from his own subjects. But as no British envoy has hitherto made his appearance in that country, accompanied by a suite and attendance conformable to his rank and station, they have continued invariably attached to a system of assumed arrogance on their part, and expected servility on ours. Can it be reasonably supposed that a nation so barbarous, so haughty, and so much enamoured of its own external forms of grandeur, will ever attach respect to the person of an Ambassador who comes attended by a Havildar and twelve or sixteen Sepoys? Or, that a retinue of half a dozen persons, unaccompanied by any external marks of state ceremony, can be expected to be re-

ceived with complacency at the court of a prince, who styles himself a sovereign of two and twenty kingdoms?* Look at the

* See the Ava papers, *passim*.

As an instance of the tumid and inflated style of the languages of Asia in general, and of the Court of *Ava* in particular, the following specimen is offered. It is extracted from the public correspondence of Colonel Symes, on that gentleman's return from *Amerapoorah*, and dated January, 1796. The translation is *verbatim*, from the *formula* observed by the Ava ministers in all their dispatches to foreign courts.

TO HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF AVA.

Written 22d January, 1796.

"The Lord of Earth and Air, the Monarch of the exten-
" sive countries of *Sonahparinda*, *Tombadiva*, *Zeawrittena*,
" and *Yaniengnia*; Lord of the great cities, *Ponckayama*,
" *Serykettera*, *Henzawuddy*, *Navenshae*, *Kuneoun*, *Mona*,
" *Mobree*, and *Kientone*; also of the ports of *Henzawuddy*,
" (commonly called Peique) near the port of *Sangone*. The
" ports of *Bassien*, of *Dencauddy*, of *Dwarawuddy*, *Sauda-*
" *way*, *Moonug*, *Ramawuddy* (*Mondema*, or *Martaban*)

situation of Colonel Symes, when exposed to a burning sun, and detained for more than an hour at the outer gate of the palace before he was admitted, not to the honour of an audience of his majesty, which he had been promised, but of his nobility and council, assembled for the purpose of beholding the degradation of the British character, in the person of its Ambassador! View Captain Cox, detained for months on a barren sandy island, in sight of the capital, which he was not permitted to enter, scarcely allowed to purchase the necessary articles of life, and those not without the most exorbitant imposition; his attendants

" *Javoy, (Brick* or *Mergui,)* and *Tenassin,* Lord of the " mines of rubies, agate, lusni, saphires, opal, and also of " gold, silver, amber, lead, tin, and naphtha; master of the " *white, red, and pyebald* elephants; possessor of elephants, " horses, carriages, fire-arms, and bows, spears, shields, and " all manner of warlike weapons. The king who performs " the ten duties called MANGIANTHA, may he be pros- " perous," &c. &c. &c.

and official servants insulted, and his own dwelling house assailed with stones! Is this to be the treatment of the representative of the governor-general of India? Or is it to be supposed for a moment, that going thus slightly attended, the Envoy on the present occasion can entertain any reasonable hope of being more successful than his predecessor. Although the picture above drawn may appear in some respects to be too highly coloured, still my conviction is perfect, that there is just ground to conclude those gentlemen were not treated with the respect due to their public characters, and that it is expedient on a future occasion (if success be desirable) to prevent a renewal of similar insults, by establishing clearly and explicitly, the rank and situation of the Ambassador, previous to his entering upon the proposed negotiations.

Long established custom has confirmed the right of Ambassadors to the Birmah court, to be received on their arrival, by the

governor of the province where they enter; to be attended by him in the progress to the court, and to be considered, during their residence there, on an equal footing with him. This was not the case with either Colonel Symes or Captain Cox; on the contrary, it appears that there was a continued series of shuffling evasion, and low cunning, on the part of the superior officers of the Birmah court, towards those gentlemen, in order to raise their own consequence, by flattering the vanity of their sovereign, and by endeavouring to make the British representative appear to the people more as a tributary to their government, than as the Ambassador from a free, equal, and powerful state. But an additional motive for this treatment may perhaps be ascribed to the manner in which former missions have been sent. My ideas on this head have been already stated, and I hope I hazard nothing by supposing that government will not admit its representative to acquiesce in similar

ill treatment. The difficulty may be got over by a resistance in the outset, if made in a manner firm and temperate, and on principles grounded upon an appeal to the laws and usages of civilized nations. Another circumstance which demands attention, is the circumscribed situation of an Ambassador at the Court of Ava, in respect to his forwarding and receiving dispatches to and from his own government. Without a free and unreserved communication of intelligence, it will be difficult to enter with effect on the negotiations, as references on many very material points will frequently be necessary. This may be obviated by a previous request being made on the part of the Envoy to the Ava government, stipulating for the assistance of advice boats from Rangoon, or if deemed more eligible, either British vessels may be employed on this occasion, or a communication established by Cassids from the Sylhet frontier and the province of Chittagong.

It appears, from the papers of Captain Cox, that it was once in agitation at Amerapoorah to confer upon him an honorary title and patent of nobility from his Birmah majesty; this, it was affirmed, would entitle him to the particular protection of the king, and give him consequence in the eyes of the ministers and of the Birmah people. On this subject I am of opinion, that if his Excellency in council does not think it derogatory to the character, or incompatible with the functions to be exercised by the Envoy, to accept of such an honour, it might be attended with benefit, though it must be fully understood as not binding on the part of the Ambassador, in regard to personal service, if required of him by the king of Ava.

In all transactions with the officers of the Ava government, it would facilitate the success of the mission, if the Ambassador were instructed to insist upon the negotiations being carried on in private, with re-

gard to the points most essential; and, on public occasions, he might converse on ordinary topics only. From the moment of Captain Cox's arrival at Rangoon, every artifice was made use of to extract from him a declaration of the nature and extent of his mission, by persons expressly employed on the occasion.

The prudence and foresight of Captain Cox were equal to the attempts of the viceroy of Pegue; but he was not so fortunate in guarding against the designs of the interpreter to government, Mocartese, an Armenian by birth.* The conduct of this man throughout the whole of Captain Cox's negotiations, proves him a specious and designing knave, firmly attached to the French interests, secretly thwarting and opposing Captain Cox's plans, though at first openly flattering and cajoling him, for the purpose of paying court to the viceroy of Pegue. On discovery of his duplicity,

* See Captain Cox's papers.

Captain Cox rejected him altogether; and he should, on every principle of policy and caution, be prevented from receiving any employment or countenance, either on the present or any future occasion. Of the same complexion was the conduct of Bab a Sheen and Jhansee, both officers of rank in the government at Rangoon: the former was the *undoubted cause* of the humiliations sustained by Colonel Symes at the ceremonial of introduction; and the latter, who held the post of *sha bunder,* or superintendent of the port of Rangoon, was particularly inimical to Captain Cox throughout the period of his residence. Recent accounts from Pegue have notified a change of administration and measures at Rangoon; they state, likewise, that all the former officers have been removed; so that there is reason to hope the points in view may now be effected with greater facility than if those officers had remained in power. It is unpleasant to observe, that the close of

Captain Cox's residence at Amerapoorah was marked by every species of insult and neglect,* occasioned, as he supposed, by a change of sentiments towards him, arising from the suggestions and intrigues of the Arracan princess, lately married to the king of Ava. Idle and frivolous demands were made for the restitution of the revenues of the provinces of Decca and Chittagong, which they affirmed had formerly belonged, by right of conquest, to the Birmah empire. Hostile threats were held out if these demands were not immediately complied with; till at length, wearied out with continual vexations, Captain Cox departed from the capital, more like a fugitive absconding from the punishment of his crimes, than the representative of the governor-general of British India, deputed to negotiate on points of importance to both countries, and general benefit to the peace and welfare of nations.

* See his papers.

Thus have I delivered at length the ideas which suggested themselves to my mind on considering this important subject. I have endeavoured to point out, as far as lay within the scope of my own abilities, the means by which I think the ends in view may be obtained; and I submit with deference the whole of my remarks to the discernment of his excellency the most noble the governor-general in council. Impressed with every sentiment of gratitude and respect for his distinguished selection of me for the fulfilment of the arduous task, I can with confidence assert, that no exertion of active industry shall be wanting on my part to carry into effect the views and wishes of his Excellency in deputing his intended Embassy to the Birmah court.

W. F.

Fort William,
June 29th, 1801.

ON THE

COMMERCE OF AVA.

A GLANCE of the eye over the charts of the Bay of Bengal, must convey conviction to every intelligent mind, of the political importance of an amicable connection with the Birmah government. While our territories, with a trifling exception, embrace the whole of the western and northern limits of the bay, theirs form the boundaries of the remainder, but with advantages which nature has denied us; they alone possessing the best harbours, and within themselves all the subsidiary aids requisite for a great commercial and naval power.

From the river Nâf, on the frontier of Chittagong, to the north end of the Negrais, are several good harbours; the ports of Bassien and Rangoon yield to none in the world; and from Tavoy to the southward of the Mergui Archipelago there are several others.

In the hands of the present possessors these advantages are unimproved or rather lost; but, on that very account, they more particularly demand our attention. All this extent of sea coast, with the dependant provinces adjoining, are recent conquests, made in the true spirit of Barbarian lust for dominion, equally pernicious to the conquered and the conquerors—these having exhausted their vigor by grasping at too much—those asperated to the utmost pitch of sufferance by exactions and indignities imposed by their short-sighted masters, with a view to subjugate their minds as well as their bodies: the consequence is,

these countries will fall an easy prey to the first invader.

It is hardly necessary to point out the nation to which an establishment in the Birmah dominions must be desirable; but it may not be improper to repeat, that it has long been an object of their solicitude; that surveys have been made, and plans projected, particularly by M. Souffrain, whose activity and exertions were so fatal to our interests in the years 81, 2, and 3, since which period domestic embarrassments alone have hitherto prevented the French from carrying their attempts into execution.

That they view our eastern possessions with the bitterest jealousy they have been at no pains to conceal. India stands confessed, in their opinion, the root of our power; to it, they say, we owe our ability to subsidize Europe; and are we to suppose that they who have been, and still are,

endeavouring to annihilate our existence as a nation in Europe, will be less desirous of laying the axe to the root of our power in India? That we at present retain quiet possession of it, is a privilege we surely do not owe to their moderation, but to the crippled state of their navy; and, implacable and insatiable as they appear to be, perhaps we ought to dread the return of peace, as pregnant with more danger than the continuance of war, short of complete exhaustion or revolution of sentiments. At least, it behoves us to guard against the machinations of a nation so active and inveterate.

It is evident how fatal it must be to our interests, should the French obtain possession of a naval port within the bay of Bengal, much more a footing in the Birmah dominions; they have but too successfully endeavoured to shut the ports of Europe against us, and, as we value our future se-

curity, we must shut the ports of India against them, at least those of the Bay of Bengal.

As far as this question depends on an alliance with the Birmah government, and the means of effecting such alliance, government is already in possession of my sentiments. I have only to add, that the Island of Negrais, which commands the port of Bassien, the best in India, is by right already ours; and should it be deemed expedient to enforce our claim, I have reason to think that the present possessors might be induced to meet our wishes.

Having dismissed the political importance of a firm connection with the Birmah nation, I shall now state its commercial advantages.

An enlightened nation, actuated by liberal policy, knows how to deserve and conciliate the friendship of its allies, by cherishing their interests, while it derives to itself reciprocal advantages. I shall not,

therefore, risk your displeasure, by proposing any narrow schemes of monopoly or restriction, further than what local prejudices or prudence may require; neither shall I encourage a mean jealousy of rivalry, which would be as idle as unworthy of us. The Birmahs are not, nor can they be, for many years, a manufacturing nation; neither can their agricultural efforts be injurious to us; on the contrary, the interests of humanity demand that we should rather encourage them, for we have had fatal instances of the influence of the seasons on the fertility of Bengal; and in cases of future failure, it must afford us great consolation to know, that our settlements on the coast have a certain resource in the dominions of our allies.

Indigo and Sugar, although almost spontaneously produced in great luxuriance, require a diffusion of capital and a spirit of industry which the Birmah dominions

must not hope to experience under its present constitution and government.

The Birmah dominions, in their most extended sense (that is, including countries subject to their influence, although not in a state of settled allegiance), I apprehend may contain about 194,400 square miles; with a population of about eight millions; from these at least three millions must be deducted, as either being independent or uncivilized; which leaves only 25 taxable inhabitants to a square mile. This population is lower than what I formerly stated, but I have reason to think it is still above the truth: be that as it may, it is sufficiently accurate for our present purpose, which is to shew the improbability of its becoming a manufacturing country.

Bengal and Behar, including our part of Orisa and the Zemindary of Benares, are estimated, on very good grounds, to contain from twenty-seven to thirty-two millions of

inhabitants, or nearly two hundred to a square mile. Comparatively great as this population appears, there is reason to believe that it is not a *maximum* of the population of this fortunate country, for it has been the seat of arts and manufactures from time immemorial, and many districts, now waste, have undoubtedly been heretofore under culture.

In Europe, Russia contains 20 inhabitants to a square mile, Sweden 14, Denmark, including Norway, 12, Poland, 53, Prussia 67, Portugal 65, Hungary and Transylvania 56, Spain 68, Turkey 38; none of these are manufacturing countries, but depend on the export of the crude produce of their mines, lands, and forests, for the support of their commerce.

The collecting of the spontaneous products of nature, and the culture of the earth, as most congenial to indolence and independence, are the favourite employments of mankind in the first stages of association;

and where the human will is not counteracted by physical or moral necessity, are invariably pursued in preference to the mechanic or other arts.

It may therefore be argued, that the Birmah people are not likely to rival us as manufacturers; while, on the other hand, their raw materials, and a free market of supply for five millions of people, unrestrained by religious prejudices, and particularly partial to our manufactures, both Indian and European, are objects of no small importance to our commercial interests.

Such has been the spirit of commercial activity in India, since the year 1775, that the tonnage of the port of Calcutta alone has increased four-fold, from 26,000, to upwards of 100,000 tons. Nor need we despair of soon seeing commerce emerging from its present languor.

Exclusive of the current and expected demands for the country trade, the failure

of ship timbers in Great Britain, has for some time been a cause of solicitude to the British government, and has induced them to turn their attention to the resources of India.

Bombay, Surat, and Demaun, have long been in possession of the building trade, and a general prejudice prevails in favour of the Teak timber of the Northern Gauts. Whether founded or not, I shall not stop at present to inquire, but content myself with remarking, that timber of a large scantling is not to be procured in that quarter, and that the sources of supply are not subject to our control.

The Pallicaud and Travancore countries afford the other sources of supply for the Malabar coast; and their forests yield timber of larger dimension than those to the northward, but in no great quantities. A survey of these forests has been recently undertaken, by order of government, and the erection of saw-mills at Baypour near

Callicut, patronised; but the reports are far from being favourable, our engineers having hitherto failed in their search after Teak forests in the Honourable Company's territory, and those in the Travancore country are remote from water carriage, so that very little large timber can be procured; and what is brought down, is more than double the price of Pegu Teak. Cochin, as a shipping port, is not to be compared, in any respect, to the ports of Bassien and Rangoon.

Considerable hopes are entertained of obtaining large supplies from the banks of the Guadavera. But adventurers in that region have considerable difficulties to encounter: the climate is obnoxious to strangers, the native mountaineers are too indolent for great exertion, and the rains often fall within the mountains.

It remains for us to examine what expectations may be formed from the Birmah dominions. If prejudice has erred in favor

of the Cancan or Mahratta Teak, it has been idly exerted against the Birmah produce.

The late Captain Cox possessed a ship built of Birmah Teak,* which was upwards of thirteen years old; and the Teak timbers of the old Stockade, lately removed at Rangoon, were as fresh and sound at the heart as when planted, upwards of forty years ago. The fact is, that defects in building, and in the choice of frame timbers, have given rise to the prejudice against the Birmah Teak.

At Bombay the frames are also made of Teak, and every precaution taken in the construction of vessels, by a family of regular artificers, jealous of their reputation.

At Rangoon, ships, &c. are built as a means of remittance, not by professional men, but by sea-faring people, &c. whose objects are cheapness and dispatch. Com-

* See his papers.

mon green jungle wood, (called *heema* at Rangoon, and *soondree* in Bengal) being at hand, and very cheap, is used for the frames. It has also another quality which gives it a preference in the eyes of the unwise penurious: nails drove in green wood, hold without clenching, which saves iron, but the consequence of using such wood is, that, as soon as the sap dries, the wood becomes brittle, subject to break in the labouring of the ship, and rapidly decays; so that, at the end of a few years, if the ship does not founder in the interim, a new set of frames are required. But ships built at Bengal with *Sissoo* frames, and at Rangoon with Teak frames, by professional men, will be found as lasting, in proportion to the scantling of timbers, &c. as any ships built at Bombay.

Let our errors be what they may, the human mind is always fertile in arguments to support them.

Those who wish to depreciate the Pegu

Teak, have not only found out that it is spongy and straight grained, but have also discovered, that it is a necessary consequence of the soil in which it grows. Pegu being, according to them, a low swampy country. And this has even been affirmed to me on the spot, by men, who, if they had travelled a few hundred yards from the atmosphere of their tobacco, would have found that the country round Rangoon and Syriam is dry and hilly: exclusive of the delta formed by the mouths of the Era Wuddey, there is very little low land in the Birmah dominions, and the Teak does not grow on this delta, but in the hilly and mountainous districts to the northward and eastward of Rangoon.

It must, however, be understood, that the largest kinds of Teak timber are of a more open grain, than the stunted growth of the gauts; and every one must be aware, that where expansion is denied, a stricter

cohesion of the fibres must ensue, and *vice versa.* But it may reasonably be made a question, whether extreme solidity is a desideratum in timber for ship-building, for such wood must be deficient in buoyancy and elasticity; and, as far as durability is concerned, it will be of little use, unless there is a strict correspondence between all the component parts of the fabric, the frames, the plank, and the iron. If the true history of those old ships which India boasts, was known, I believe it would be found, that like a stocking curiously darned by some thrifty dame, more labour and materials had been expended to make them hang together than would have built two new ones.

And, if we consider the question in a commercial point of view, I also think that excessive labour and strength in ship-building are by no means desirable. The strongest Bombay built ship is as obnoxious to fire, wreck, and capture, as a common-

built merchantman, and at the same time, costs, at least, one third more. Her *possible* durability, therefore, is to compensate for this *actual* expense.

It is a principle in commerce, which ought never to be lost sight of, that profit does not arise from the gross capital of a merchant or station, but from that portion only, which is properly called, quick stock.

A ship generally forms the heaviest part of a merchant's dead stock, or that part which yields no profit. In proportion, therefore, as her first cost, &c. exceeds what is absolutely necessary for the purposes of safety, &c. his profitable stock is unnecessarily and injudiciously diminished. And as this is a subject of no small importance to the interests of commerce, and seems to have been little attended to in India, I hope I shall be excused entering a little into detail.

It is well known to professional men, that a ship built with timber, &c. of a certain scantling, and certain materials, will run with safety, (particular accidents excepted), without requiring any considerable repairs, for a certain number of years: we will say ten years.

Quære, Is it an advantage to increase the scantling of the timber, &c. or to give a higher price for materials of extraordinary durability, with a view to enable a ship of the same general capacities to run fifteen years? This I shall endeavour to answer.

We will suppose that two merchants commence trade, each with a certificate of 150,000 Rupees; and that the first vests his capital in a Bombay-built ship. Being the known possessor of such a ship, he can always obtain credit for the funds necessary to carry on his trade; but depending entirely on credit for his quick stock, the interest on the borrowed capital must be

deducted from his profits, and the account of his vessel will stand as follows:—

A ship that costs 150,000 Rupees at 15 years purchase, must yield a neat rent of 10,000 Rupees per annum, to replace the capital at the end of that period, which is nearly $6\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. This capital must also return the interest of the country, which we will call ten per cent. To these two sums must be added, the mean rate of insurance for 15 years, to cover completely the capital employed, against intermediate accidents, and which will be $5\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. making together, a tax of 22 per cent. per annum, on the employing such a block. The expenses of wear and tear, and sailing charges, exclusive of the above, being the same in both cases, it is unnecessary to notice them.

The mean rate of building at Bengal, and Bombay, since the year 1780, is about 25 per cent. higher at the latter place than the

former; (exclusive of the present marine-yard-fees, which amount to 20 per cent. more) and all chances included, we will admit, that the bombay ship will run one-third longer. If, therefore, the Bombay ship cost 150,000, rupees, the Bengal ship must be rated at 112,500 rupees, and must yield a neat rent of 11,250 rupees per annum, to replace the capital at the end of ten years, which is ten per cent. per annum. The mean rate of insurance in the same time will be 5½ per cent. per annum, and interest on the capital ten per cent. making together, a tax of 25½ per cent. per annum on the Bengal ship.

RECAPITULATION.

Twenty-two per cent. on the price of the Bombay block, 150,000 rupees, is per annum, 33,000 rupees, and for ten years, - - - - - - -	330,000
Twenty-five per cent. and a half on 112,500 rupees, the Bengal block is, per annum, 28,687 rupees, and for ten years, - - - - - - -	286,875
Balance in favour of the Bengal ship, Rs.	43,125
But the merchant proprietor of the Bengal ship will also have 37,500 Rs. (being the excess of cost of the Bombay ship) to employ as quick stock, which will return him (inclusive of interest and insurance) at least a profit of twenty per cent. per annum, amounting in ten years, principal and profit, to, - - - - - - -	97,019
A. Rs.	140,144
But at the end of ten years the Bengal ship supposed to be annihilated, and the Bombay ship still worth one-third of her original value, for which we must deduct, - - - - - - - -	50,000
Balance in favour of employing 150,000 Rupees, capital in Bengal built ship, - - - - Rs.	90,144

If we admit that the disparity between the two ships is greater than a third, (as the advocates for Bombay will be ready enough to contend,) and that at the end of ten years the Bombay ship is twice as good as the other: or that at the end of ten years she is only depreciated in value one-fifth of her original cost, while the Bengal ship is depreciated three-fifths; the amount will stand as follows:

Balance in favour of employing capital in the Bengal ship, as per account A, - - -	Rs.	140,144
Amount of value of the Bombay ship at the end of ten years, being one-fifth less than first cost, - - - - - - - -	Rs. 120,000	
Amount of value of the Bengal ship, at the end of ten years, being three-fifths less than first cost, - - - - - - - - - -	45,000	
Difference of value in favour of the Bombay ship,		75,000
Balance on the whole account, in favour of employing a capital of 150,000 Rs. in the Bengal ship, - - - - - - - - - - - - -		65,144

Hence it is apparent that incurring extra

expense with a view to the mere duration of the block of a ship, or any kind of building or machinery, which forms the dead stock of a merchant, is attended with a certain loss, without one equivalent advantage, unless the gratification of the childish vanity of being said to possess a ship as strong as a castle, or the handsomest set of works in the country, may be reckoned one: of the truth of this assertion I believe we have had many fatal instances among our merchants, and our indigo and sugar manufacturers in both Indies.

The average rate of ship-building in India, is nearly as follows. At Surat, from 14*l.* to 15*l.* per ton, coppered and equipped for sea in the European style. At Damaun, between 13*l.* and 14*l.* coppered and equipped for sea in the European style. At Bombay, between 19*l.* and 20*l.* coppered and equipped for sea in the European style. At Cochin, between 13*l.* and 14*l.* coppered and equipped for sea in the European style.

At Rangoon, between 12*l.* and 13*l.* coppered and equipped for sea in the European style. At Calcutta between 16*l.* and 17*l.* coppered and equipped for sea in the European style; but there is reason to believe that, if our supplies of Teak from Rangoon were certain and abundant, ships of 800 tons burden, equal in strength and capacity to our Indiamen, might be built at Calcutta for 15*l.* per ton. And if a depot of timber was formed at Rangoon, and Bassien, and regular artificers employed, I have no doubt but that ships of the same or much greater burdens might be built there, at 11*l.* or 12*l.* per ton; as timber of the largest dimensions may be procured without any great advance of price.

Mr. P. Tate, the Honourable Company's Civil Architect at Prince of Wales's Island, states, in a letter, dated last winter, 1807, "That a ship built at Penang would cost "three times as much as one built at Ran- "goon or Bassien, for at Penang nature pre-

" sents formidable difficulties in the erection " of docks, whereas the ports of Rangoon " and Bassien afford every facility for ship " building, docks," &c.

The forests of Teak, which supply the Rangoon and Bassien markets, with some slight interruptions, extend on both sides of the Era Wuddey, from the latitude of 18 to 21°, north. There are also considerable forests on the banks of the Keayudowain river, which falls into the Era Wuddey at the latitude of 21°, 34′ north; and the city of Amerapoorah, &c. is supplied with fine large timber, from forests on the banks of the Era Wuddey, about the latitude of 23° north: besides these, I have accounts of extensive forests of very large timber on the banks of the Paigoo, Sittong, and Montaban rivers.

The consumption of invaluable wood in the Birmah dominions, is very great, as well for their numerous religious buildings, as for their common habitations, and numer-

ous river craft. And the supplies still continue so abundant, that there is very little variation in the price. Indeed, if the unqualified term *inexhaustible* is in any case admissible, it may be applied to the Birmah forests of Teak: exclusive of straight, they also yield in abundance, crooked timber of the largest dimensions.

In the Appendix A. is given a comparative table of the mean prices of Teak timber and plank at Rangoon, Calcutta, and Cochin.

The next article is Cotton; and I shall endeavour to elucidate its relative importance, by giving a brief sketch of the trade from Bombay in that article:

The Cotton exported from Bombay, is drawn from the following places, and in the following proportions: Jumbosur, which includes the Amaood and Baroach, furnishes three-eighths, Bawnaghur three-eighths, and Suide, or Cutch, two-eighths.

It appears from an average of the last eight

years, that the annual exports from Bombay have been 55,000 bales, or 27,500 Candies; and the average price within the same period, 100 Bombay Rupees per Surat Candie of 784lb. weight avoirdupoise, and the annual amount of value imported, 2.750,000 Bombay Rupees, (twenty-seven Lac, and fifty thousand Bombay Rupees): from this gross sum must be deducted for port duties and other charges of merchandise, about ten per cent. or 275,000 Rupees, leaving the net sum of 2,475,000 Bombay Rupees, to be paid the northern merchants and carriers, either in goods or cash.

The gross amount of exports from Bengal to Bombay, of such articles as are consumed or taken off by the northern merchants, cannot be estimated at more than six Lacs of Rupees. I doubt whether it is so much; English or European staples applicable to the same purposes, six Lacs more; China and other goods, two Lacs; or, we will say on the whole, 1,475,000 Bombay Rupees.

This is not to be understood as the whole of the Bombay imports. The remainder is observed in providing the Company's other investments with piece goods, &c. &c. there will therefore remain an annual balance of ten Lacs of Rupees in cash, to be paid the northern merchants on account of their Cotton. This forms what is called the balance of trade. And although such a trade may be gainful to individuals, it is always injurious to the state.

It is therefore an object of no small importance that the general interest turn as much of the Cotton Trade into a channel where our manufactures will be received in barter, as will restore the equilibrium at least, if not turn the balance in our favour.

The Birmahs have long been in the habit of exporting Cotton to China, by the channel of the Era Wuddey, and province of Yunan. We therefore shall not have the prejudice of novelty to overcome, their Cotton being in esteem with the Chinese,

particularly the brown kind, of which Nankeens are made; and their country is particularly adapted to the culture of Cotton; so that we may depend on obtaining any quantity, provided their own government can be induced to co-operate. Nor ought the encouragement of its culture excite any jealousy here, for Bengal finds better uses for her lands, as is evident from the quantities of Cotton imported from the Mahratta country for home consumption.

The only question that remains to be examined, is, whether it can be exported as cheap from the Birmah dominions, as from Bombay. Having no direct evidence on this subject, I must deduce my inferences from analogy.

The great staple for the Birmah Cotton-wool is the city of Cheghein, to which place it is brought in the rough or unseeded form from the districts below, &c. and sold at the rate of 8 Tecals 5 per cent. silver, per 100 Viss, of 365lb. avoirdupoise; the expense of

cleaning the cotton is 2 Tecals per o/o Viss, and as it requires on an average, 300 Viss of rough Cotton, to make one of clean, the price at the above rates will amount to 30 Tecals per hundred Viss; package, packing, &c. comes to 1¼ Tecals more, but this price is esteemed low at Cheghein. The general price of clean Cotton packed for boating, fluctuating between 30 and 40 Tecals the 100 Viss.

The boats employed in the China trade, usually carry 100 baskets, containing 100 Viss each, or 10,000 Viss, equal to 36,500lb. The price, or freight, of such a boat, for the trip to Yunan, is 300 Tecals; wages and provisions for the crew 200 Tecals; and government duties, or tythe of the prime cost, from 300 to 400 Tecals: so that, stating the average price at 35 Tecals per hundred Viss, 10,000 Viss of Cotton will cost the merchant adventurer, at Quantong 4,350 Tecals. And as 100 Tecals of Namaikhai, or 5 per cent. silver, is, in general, no

more than 112 Sicca Rupees, the price per Surat Candy of 784lb. will amount to 104 S.Rs. 10as. 3p. at the Quantong market, on the frontiers of Yunan, and is there sold to the Chinese merchant at an advance of from 30 to 50 per cent.

The voyage from Cheghein to Quantong generally requires 30 or 40 days. The navigation towards the latter part is difficult and dangerous, owing to the increased rapidity of the stream and a rocky channel; so that many boats are bulged, and, consequently, a proportionate profit is required to indemnify the adventurers for their risk.

The freight to Quantong, we see, is five Tecals per 100 Viss, and about half as much is paid for freight from the places below where the Cotton is collected. Both these charges might be saved by the salt and grain merchants, as they generally return with their boats empty, whereas they might collect the Cotton at the different villages, where grown, on their way down.

Suppose, however, that they pay o/o Tecals per hundred Viss for the rough Cotton; two Tecals per 100 Viss for cleaning; and 1¼ for package, or, on the whole, 28 Tecals per hundred Viss; for 10,000 Viss it will be 2,800 Tecals; government export-duties ten per cent. and regular Chokey duties, 50 Tecals; together 330 Tecals; or, on the whole, it will cost the merchant, at the shipping ports, 3130 Tecals. And as his risk or labour bears no proportion to that of the northern merchants, an advance of 20 per cent. may be deemed a handsome profit for him. This will make the price per Candy at the shipping port 90S. Rs. 5as. 7p. near ten per cent. less than the average price at Bombay, for the last eight years. And I am very certain, if the Birmah government could be induced to open their eyes to their true interests, encourage the industry of their subjects, and abolish the hordes of licensed robbers, who at present infest the

river under the name of Chokey Dars, the Birmah merchants might soon be enabled to deliver the Cotton at the shipping port for seventy Rupees per cent.

If this trade is ever established, Bassien must be made the shipping port, as being more favourably situated for ingress and egress in the S. W. monsoon.

I shall here recapitulate the advantages which the Cotton Trade from Bassien would probably have over the present trade from Bombay.

First, The whole of the Cotton-wool would be paid for in our own manufacture.

Secondly, It would be much cheaper.

Thirdly, The supply would be little liable to the irregularities which are often severely felt at Bombay. Such as failure of crop, or an early monsoon preventing the northern boats from getting down. The first is an event hardly known in the Birmah dominions, and their inland navigation secures them against the other.

Fourthly, One third of the distance of the voyage to China would be saved.

Fifthly, Ships might sail, every necessary included, at one-third less expense than incurred from Bombay.

Sixthly,* It would tend to lower the price of timber at Bengal, and thereby have a very beneficial influence on the whole of our commercial operations; for, if a ship sailed from Bassien on the 15th of July, she might arrive at Quantong the 15th of August; sail from thence the 1st of October, stop at Penang, take in Betel-nut, and return to Bassien early in November; re-load with timber, and leave it the 15th or 20th of December; arrive at Calcutta the 1st of January, discharge her cargo and take in another, of rice, and sail for Madras the 1st of March; arrive at and sail from thence in the course of the month; sail for Bassien the first of April, and arrive in ten days.

* See Captain Cox, *passim*.

which would leave her three months for repairs and loading again for China. And as all these passages are with a fair monsoon, the wear and tear would be trifling. The capital employed, likewise, being repeatedly turned, the merchant adventurer could afford to sell his timber, &c. at the most moderate rate.

Besides Cotton, the Birmah dominions furnish many other articles of export, some of which are in particular demand for the China market; and the more we encourage the export of their crude produce, the better able will they be to purchase our manufactures.

The third article I have to enumerate, is Stick Lack, of which about 200,000 Viss are exported annually. The price, in general, is very high, owing to its being eagerly sought as a means of remittance; it fluctuates between 40 and 50 Tecals, Rangoon currency, per 100 Viss; and, taking it at the average, or 45 Tecals, it will

make the amount value of the whole quantity exported 90,000 Tecals, Rangoon currency, and nearly 8S. Rs. 14as. per Bengal Buzar Maund.

4th, Cutch.—Cutch is an astringent inspissated gum or resin,* obtained in Bengal, and the Malayan islands, from a species of Mimosa; and in the Birmah country, from a species of Cassia. It is known in our materia medica, by the name of Terra Japonica: for the mode of manufacture, &c. *vide* Appendix H.

It may be bought at the places where it is manufactured, at 5S.Rs. per hundred Viss: but owing to the Chokey exactions, the price at Rangoon is about 20rs. per hundred Viss, or something less than 4rs. 8as. per Bengal B. Maund. The Birmahs, however, find a means of exporting it in their boats much cheaper, as I find that Birmah Cutch sells at Calcutta for 5 and 5½rs. per Maund. At China it sells for 44rs. per hundred Viss, or seven tale per Pecal, which

yields a profit of nearly 120 per cent. There is annually exported about three or four hundred thousand Viss, which at 20rs. per o/o viss is 60 or 80,000rs.

5th Ivory.—The forests and wastes, being royal domains, all the Ivory is considered as royal property, and the trade prohibited to others. A great deal, however, is smuggled as well by the officers of government, as the commonalty.

The price of this article, also, is so much enhanced by competition, as barely to make it a remittance. At the royal Godowns at Amerapoorah, it sells for three Tecals flowered silver for one Viss (3lb. 65,) of the first quality—equal to 2rs. 0as. 10p. per Pucka Seer; at Rangoon the average price of the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th kinds mixed, is three Tecals Rangoon currency, per Viss; equal to 1r. 8as. 1p. per Pucka Seer: the very best, five Tecals per Viss, or 2rs. 9as. 2p. per Seer.

As this is a contraband article, it is impossible to ascertain the amount exported, but it cannot exceed 50,000 Tecals.

6th, Wax.—This article is procured in large quantities, but the price, in general, is too high for exportation, fluctuating from two to three Tecals per Viss, which gives a mean of 500rs. per Bengal Maund.

7th, Lead.—This article is, in general, prohibited; but is, nevertheless, sometimes exported. The price at Rangoon is seldom so low as 15 Tecals per hundred Viss. I have known it in currency at 60 Tecals. Yet they can afford to sell it for 15 or 20 Tecals per o/o Viss. Twenty Tecals is nearly 5 Rupees per Bengal Maund. I am told, however, that it does not sell higher than 6rs. per Maund, at Calcutta, when European lead sells at 11rs. The natives not liking it. on account of its being refractory. Ten per cent. of copper was found in some that had been analyzed.

8th, Iron.—This is mostly consumed in the country, and preferred by the natives to the European, as being more ductile.

The price of crude ore, at the furnaces near Medai, is six Tecals per hundred Viss, which will yield, I am told, 60 or 70 per cent. of Iron. The same ore may be delivered at Rangoon for 15 Tecals per 100 Viss, which is equal to 1r. 4as. and 2rs. 15as. per Bengal Maund.

Iron in Pego about 8 inches long by 2¼ broad and 1½ thick; price at the furnaces 20 Tecals, at Rangoon 30 Tecals per 100 Viss, or 4rs. 0as. 1p. and 5rs. 15as. 7p. per Bengal Maund.

Wrought Iron in nails, &c. where manufactured, about 35 Tecals per o/o Viss; at Rangoon 50 Tecals, or 7rs. 0as. 10p. and 9rs. 15as. 5p. per Bengal Maund.

9th, Copper.—The ore of which I have the honor to forward a specimen, is of the kind called Malac[illegible], mineralized with arsenic. They have it in abundance, but I

believe the mines are but little wrought at present, and what is procured, is used in the country.

10th, Arsenic, or native Orpiment.—They have abundance of this mineral, and export considerable quantities: the price at Rangoon fluctuaes from 50 to 100 Tecals per 100 Viss; average, 75 Tecals or 14rs. 15as. 2p. per Bengal Maund. But they can afford it much cheaper at Calcutta, the present current price is 22rs. 8as. per Maund.

11th, Tin.—This metal is brought from Tavoy and Mergui, at least I do not know of any tin mines within the proper Birmah territory. The price at the above place is from 40 to 50 Tecals per 100 Viss, but sells at Rangoon from 100 to 120 Tecals per 100 Viss, or 21rs. 14as. 11p. per Bengal Maund.

12th, Amber.—Of this bitumen, considerable veins, I am informed, are found over a stratum of coal, on the banks of the Keandowein river. [illegible] first kind pellucid, in large pieces 75 Tecals per Viss.—The

second, 50 Tecals per Viss. The inferior opake kind, 30 Tecals per Viss.

13th, Earth Oil.—*Petrolum:* for the account of wells, &c. See Appendix I. Average price at Rangoon 1r. 3as. 11p. per Bengal Maund.

14th, Wood Oil.—From 10 to 15 Tecals per hundred Viss; average price 2rs. 7as. 10p. per Bengal Maund.

15th, Indigo.—This dye is manufactured in a rude way by a process similar to the general one, except that they use the alkali in subsistence, and do not inspissate it. At Rangoon a little is sold in this semi-fluid state, at 20 Tecals per hundred Viss; but would not sell for a Rupee per Maund in Bengal.

The Shabunder Ihansey dried some, and sent me a specimen, which appeared to have undergone a degree of combustion, either from the excess of the crude lime contained in it, or from injudicious fermentation.

16th, Cossoomba.—The petals and stamina of a flower well known in India, as yielding a beautiful pink dye; average price 200 Tecals per hundred Viss, or 39rs. 13as. 8p. per Bengal Maund.

The best Cossoomba of Bengal, which is equal to any I saw at Amerapoorah, is sold for 20 Rupees per Maund. I therefore suppose the whole of this dye is consumed in the country.

17th, Sahan Wood.—This they have in abundance, but I do not know that any is exported.

18th, Near—is the inner bark of a tree found in the Birmah dominions, and is of two kinds, white and red. It is used for cordage, which is excellent when well wrought with earth-oil. Ships built at Rangoon are generally rigged with it, but it is better adapted for cables, being exceedingly strong, less liable to damage than Coiar, and will last with safety for six months.

Made up in cables or rope, the price is

16 Tecals per hundred Viss, or 3rs. 2as. 11p. per Bengal Maund. Whereas Coiar yarn generally averages at Bengal 14 Rupees per Maund. At present it is at 20 Rupees.

19th, Paper.—Of this they have two kinds; one made of the bark of the paper mulberry, fine, white, and strong, and very like the Otaheite cloth; the other is made of the macerated filaments of bamboo, and is coarse and dark: of this kind they manufacture the black books, in common use, in the country called Purbeck, also Kittasols. None is exported.

20th, Birds' Nests.—These are collected in the caverns of the small islands off the western coast of the great Negrais, and Arracan, and the Mergui Archipelago. They are in great request for the China market, and the average price of the best is 45 Tecals per Viss, or 559 tale, 7 mace per Percel.

At China they sell for from 1300 to 700 tale per Percel; sometimes as high as 2000

tale for the best, which are free from all extraneous matter, white and pellucid.

The greater part of those found in the Mergui Archipelago are bought on the spot by the Malays, so that the king's tythe only is brought to Rangoon, and either consumed by the royal family, &c. or exported by the way of Quantong. Those exported by sea from Rangoon are, for the most part, brought from the islands of the Negrais, &c. and seldom exceed 100 Viss per annum.

21st, Cardamums.—These are the spontaneous produce of the Martaban province; the seeds only are sold, and, I believe, exclusively, on the Coromandel coast. The average price is one Tecal per Viss, or 19rs. 15as. per Bengal Maund.

22d, Pepper.—A very fine kind of which, No. 1. is a *muster*, spontaneously growing wild in the jungles, in the provinces of Tonghoo and Martaban. Price, from 1 to 3 Tecals per Viss, or from 19rs. 15as. to

59rs. 13as. per Maund. It is the more worthy of notice, as it shews how far north good pepper can be produced. The *muster* was brought from Tonghoo in latitude 18° north. I therefore firmly believe, that the culture may be attempted with success at Chittagong, or in the northern Circars.

23d, Fish Maws and Shark Fins for the China market.—These are brought from the Martaban province; price about 6 Tecals per 100 Viss, or 7 tale 3 macé per Percel. At China they sell on an average for 18 tale per Percel.

24th, Tobacco.—This weed has been cultivated and used in the country, time immemorial. The ancient Pâli name is Bai—See Chum. The modern Birmah name is Chai. Hence we may infer that the plant is indigenous, and not imported into Asia from America, as some botanists contend.

The Birmahs are very attentive to its culture, and curious in their choice; the

price varying from 20 Tecals to 400 per hundred Viss; the best is of a bright brown colour, fragrant, and of an aromatic pungent flavour, and is used for chewing with their Betel; the inferior kinds are used for smoaking in pipes, similar to those used by the Chinese and Arabians, consisting of an earthen bowl, and long stem of perforated bamboo, ornamented with gold or silver fillagree work, or brass, according to the rank or means of the parties.

The average price of middling tobacco is 50 Tecals per o/o Viss, or 9rs. 15as. 6p. per Maund. A little is exported by the way of Quantong, but none, I believe, by sea.

25th, Jaggree.—This is a coarse kind of sugar, made from the Sop of the Tear tree (a species of palm well known all over India, and which thrives particularly in the Birmah dominions). The plantations, especially to the northward, are numerous, and the trees are double, perhaps treble the dimensions of any I ever saw in India pro-

per. The Birmah name for Jaggree is Thungneal, and the price 25 Tecals per hundred Viss, or 5rs. 6p. per Bengal Maund. Except a little exported by the way of Quantong to China, most of what is made, I believe, is consumed in the country.

The Birmahs have also several varieties of sugar-cane; it is called Khean, and the sugar made from it, Thugeahs; very little sugar, however, is made, the cane being mostly used in its crude state.

26th, Honey.—The Birmah wilds are very extensive, and abound in bees. *Must* honey is collected and sold at Rangoon at the rate of 12 Tecals per hundred Viss for the very best, or about 2rs. 8as. per Maund.

27th, Charong—is a black Lack, drawn from a tree of considerable size, of which one or two plants were brought to Calcutta by Captain Cox. It is in very general use amongst the natives for their lacquered ware. It is not known in India.

The Rangoon price of Charong is from 80 to 100 Tecals per o/o Viss—average rate per Maund 19rs. 15as.

28th, Chunam.—Very fine Chunam may be made in the Birmah dominions, as they possess extensive quarries of lime-stone, marble, and alabaster. The greatest use made of lime in the country, is as a corrective with their betel; they mix with it a small quantity of turmeric, which tinges the compound with a beautiful pink.—Average price at Rangoon, 18 Tecals per o/o Viss, or 6as. 6 p. per Bengal Maund.

29th, Rice—is produced in great abundance, nutritive, but coarse. The average price at the Rangoon market is about one Rupee per Bengal bag, or 8 Annas per Maund. Exportation, except as ship's provisions, is prohibited.

30th, Vegetable Oils—such as are used for eating by the natives of India. Average price about 50 Tecals per o/o Viss, or 9rs. 15as. 6p. per Maund.

31st, Culinary Salt.—At Rangoon the average price is about 6 Annas per Maund. At Amerapoorah it is advanced to two Rupees per Maund.

32d, Precious Stones.—The Birmah dominions produce all the varieties generally known, except the diamond, particularly rubies of the first quality, sapphires, emeralds, topazes, amethysts, and garnets; jasper, crystal spar of various kinds, amber, and jet, also make part of their exports to China.

The trade in these articles might be infinitely more extended, did not the jealous policy of government prohibit the exportation of valuables of any kind; and they are particularly strict with respect to the ruby mines, so that no subject can possess a ruby above the value of 400 Tecals.

But as the mines would be comparatively unproductive, unless some inducement was held out to the miners, his majesty allows them to sell all rubies under the above

value, as also sapphires, garnets, &c. to the Mahomedan and Malabar natives at Amerapo (ah (for no strangers or persons of foreign extraction are allowed to approach the mines). Those Mahomedans, &c. polish and sort the different stones, by which they appear to make but a poor livelihood.

The annual sale of these inferior rubies did not, in Captain Cox's opinion, amount to more than 25000 Tecals per annum; and the sapphires, garnets, &c. may yield 5000 Tecals; jasper, spar, &c. &c. 5000 Tecals, or, on the whole, 35,000 Tecals of five per cent. silver, equal to 42,000 Tecals R. currency.

There are many other articles of crude produce, but the above are the principal.

Their manufactures are as follows:

1st, The principal export manufacture in the Birmah dominions consists of ships or vessels; of these, I understand, on an average of the last ten years, 3,000 tons

are built per annum, and the cost and value stands nearly as follows:

	Tecals.
Timbers - - - - - - -	60,000
Iron - - - - - - - -	60,000
Labour - - - - - - -	120,000
Outfit, including copper - -	120,000
Tecals - -	360,000

Which is 110rs. 6as. 4p. or, at 2s. 4d. per Sicca Rupee, 12l. 5s. 5d. per ton.—This is the rate at which Europeans have built at Rangoon lately; but the excess in the two articles of labour and outfit may be reduced, as they, in a great measure, proceed from the corrupt practices of the officers of government.

2d, Dungaree for sail cloth is manufactured in small quantities, price 2rs. 4as. 9p. per piece, 7 yards by 1¼.

3d, Towelling.—They are famous for making a rough kind of towelling. The price, unknotted, is 5 Rupees Corge; knot-

ted, 10 Rupees Corge: perhaps to the amount of 4,000 Rupees is exported annually.

4th, Lacquered ware, of various kinds, for domestic purposes, forms a considerable article of internal commerce, and is a little exported.

5th, Earthen-ware.—Pegu is famous in India for manufacturing a superior kind of glazed earthen-ware. I examined the manufacture particularly, and find that we have a clay of the same quality, nearly pure argill, in the Burdwan province. The glazing is litharge, ground to a powder, and mixed with a saline earth (which acts as a flux), and is then smeared over the vessels intended to be glazed, before they are placed in the furnace.

Every vessel carries away a little of this earthen-ware; but the value of the whole amounts only to a trifle, perhaps two or three thousand Rupees.

6th, Saltpetre is manufactured in the upper provinces in the usual mode, but

they know not how to refine it entirely free from the mother and muriate. This is one cause of the badness of their gunpowder. The price in the country is 35 Tecals per hundred Viss, or 7rs. 10p. per Bengal Maund, which is of itself a prohibition against exportation, exclusive of a rigid order to that effect by government.

7th, Silks of various kinds are manufactured in the country for their own consumption. They collect a little raw silk in the country, but the chief part of what they use is imported from China by the way of Quantong, and sells at Amerapoorah at 25 Tecals five per cent. silver per bundle, weighing 175 Viss, or 9rs. 6as. 4p. per Pucka Seer.

The Birmah silks being very dear, and in dimension and pattern calculated merely for their own habits, none are exported.

The Birmahs have made considerable progress in the art of dyeing.

The result of Captain Cox's inquiries on

this branch of art may not be unacceptable.

To dye Raw Silk Red :—For one Viss of raw silk, take four Viss of stick lack, grind the lack to powder, put it in a cotton bag, and infuse it in a jar, containing 25 Viss, or nearly 11 gallons 3 pints of clear cold water; suffer it to remain until the whole of the colouring matter of the lack is extracted; then steep, in the same water, a a bag containing two Viss of ripe tamarinds, also a small bag containing 5 Tecals, or 0/5 parts of a Viss by weight, of powdered Dacay bark (the Dacay bark is highly astringent, and will answer equally well). When the unctuous and astringent juices of these articles are extracted, the raw silk must be washed clean, to free it from the gummy or extraneous impurities, and then put in the cold infusion, and boiled over a slow fire until half the liquor has evaporated, when it must be taken off the fire, the silk drain-

ed, then washed in cold water, and hung in the sun to dry.

2d, To dye Raw Silk Pink with Cossoomba. One Viss of raw silk will require ten Viss of Cossoomba flowers. They must be dried, ground to powder, put into a cotton bag, steeped and washed in the river until all the yellow colour is extracted. When this has been done, suspend the bag over a clean pot or pan, and pour on the powdered flowers half a pint of strong Choppeah water. (Choppeah water is a solution of natrou or natrum, which effloresces on the surface of the earth in several districts of the upper provinces; is very abundant, and generally used instead of soap or vegetable alkali.) Add ten Viss or ten gallons and a half of cold water. When the water is drained through the powder, it must be repeatedly returned, until all the colouring matter is extracted; then take a basket, by measure equal to 32 Bengal Seers, or 64lb, of dried Biar plumbs; (the Biar is a thorny

bush, well known all over India, and yields a fruit in shape and size like a small crab apple, the juice of which is a very austere acid); grind the plumbs and muriate with 4½ gallons of water; drain the water through a cloth and taste if it is very sour, if not return it through the muriate until sufficiently sour. Mix off this acidated water with the Cossoomba infusion, until the latter appears red, and in proportion, according to the shade required: but if added in excess it will injure the brilliancy of the colour. When the liquor is thus prepared, steep the cleansed raw silk in the cold infusion, then drain and hang it to dry in the wind and shade.

3d, To dye Silk Blue.—For one Viss of raw silk, take a five gallon pot, fill it with fresh indigo leaves, and then pour in water until the leaves are covered; boil them over a slow fire until the liquor is tinged with a reddish brown; take the pot off the fire, and strain the decoction into an open

pan and let it stand to cool. When cold, the liquor will be tinged with a light green. Steep the cleansed raw silk in this cold infusion, drain and dry it. The colour will, at first, be a pale green, but will afterwards change to a light blue: if you require a deeper colour, the operation must be repeated, until the shade required is obtained; afterwards wash out the silk in clean cold water, and the colour will stand.

Another mode. Take of manufactured indigo, which in its semifluid state is 50 Tecals weight, or half a Viss, make 25 gallons of strong *lie* from the ashes of the plantane tree; filter the *lie* into a jar, add the indigo and two ripe plantanes, or, instead of them, five Tecals weight of Jaggree; cover the jar over, and leave it to ferment for three days and nights; and at the end of that time the solution of the indigo will be complete, and the liquor tinctured with a light or greenish yellow.

In this liquor the silk or cotton thread is to be steeped; drain and dry it as before, and if you require a deeper shade, add to the same liquor five Tecals weight of fresh indigo paste, and one gallon of fresh *lie;* when a new fermentation will ensue, and proceed as before. This liquor may be kept for years, and the fermentation renewed as often as required."

The first process is generally used at Amerapoorah for silk; the latter for cotton.

4th, Purples are dyed first with Lack, according to No. 1; second, with indigo, No 3.

5th, Black in the same manner, with the addition of a solution of iron in vegetable acid.

6th, Greens, are first dyed yellow with turmerick, and then blue with indigo.

As the manufacturing of indigo, and the mode of using it in dying, are objects

of importance to the commerce of Bengal, I shall offer a few observations on the subject, which I hope may be found useful.

In the course of my travels, I have found indigo in use among the most savage tribes, more particularly among the inhabitants of the Malayan Islands; the dye brilliant and permanent, and extracted by the most simple means, hence a general predilection amongst them for blue cloths, and a critical nicety in choosing such as are properly dyed.

I have often seen them reject cloths of excellent texture and low price, dyed in Bengal; purchasing in preference coarser and dearer goods from Tranquebar, Ports Navo and Pondicherry, because at those places they have the arts of fixing the blue dye, which has not as yet been attained in Bengal. On the same account also, most of the blue goods intended for the European and African markets are manufactured at those places.

A knowledge of these facts induced me to inquire into the mode of dyeing as practised by the Malays; and finding that they simply used the liquor of the first fermentation, when a light green, without addition, I therefore, many years since, recommended the trial to some of our indigo manufacturers in Bengal, but I apprehend with little effect.

My attention being again called to the subject by observing the simple modes in use among the Birmahs, I obtained, on my return here, Doctor Bancroft's meritorious researches on permanent colours, and, encouraged by finding my opinion supported by such authority, I again recommended to our indigo manufacturers the dying of cotton cloths from the first solution, as an easy means of increasing their profits and benefitting the country. The vats now in use will answer, without any additional expense; and all the expenses of manufacturing the indigo into the solid state, and re-solution, will be avoided.

The kinds of cloth which I apprehend would be suitable for the consumers, either in Europe, Africa, or the Malay Islands, are Gurrahs from 80 to 120 Rupees per Corge. And Cossias of the strongest texture from 120 to 200 Rupees per Corge, for the Eastern, or Malay market, these cloths should measure 36 cubits in length, by 2¼ breadth.

It may perhaps be asked, why not endeavour to improve the mode of dyeing from indigo in substance? I am sorry to answer, that I fear there are physical reasons which must ever operate to prevent perfection in that mode.

The water of Bengal, particularly Tank water, is every where strongly inpregnated with nitre; and nitre, it is known, resists that intimate solution of the colouring matter of indigo, necessary to enable the liquor to strike a permanent dye.

The solution is effected in Bengal by fermentation with vegetable juices and caustic

alkali; and Doctor Bancroft will not be displeased to learn, that the suggestions of his active mind, which led him to try with such success sugar instead of orpiment, are reinforced by the practice of India.

In the Birmah mode, as above described, all mineral agents are rejected. A mild vegetable alkali only being used, which I apprehend must be more favourable to the texture of the cloth, than more active agents.

The Bengal mode of forming an indigo vat for dyeing, is as follows: to 10 Seer of indigo in substance, add 30 gallons of water, 2½ Seer of fine slack lime (such as used in chewing with betel) four Seer of Muttee, (this is the soap earth mixed with natrum,) and 2½ Seer of Jaggree.—Mix them cold, and leave the compound to ferment eight days and nights, when the solution, or liquor will be of a dark green.

The cloth is steeped without preparation or addition; left in the infusion twenty-

four hours, taken out, dried and washed. The above quantity will dye 240 yards of yard-wide cotton.

It is worthy of observing, that the fermentation of the Birmah vat requires only three days, and in the Bengal vat it is continued eight days, and after all, the solution is not perfected; the liquor being of a deep green, and the colour, when struck, fugitive; all which indicate the resistance of some powerful agent, which, as I said before, I apprehend to be nitre, and hardly to be avoided, unless by using rain-water; but that can never be done in the large way.

The chief and last article of export from the Birmah dominions, is silver bullion; in which, notwithstanding a rigid prohibition, the large balance against the country is, and must be, paid.

The Birmahs, like the Chinese, have no current coin, but keep their accounts according to the weight of bullion of

various standards, reckoning from pure silver: as 2½ per cent. 5 per cent. 8 per cent. 10 per cent. and so on, according to established usage; also certain articles are always understood to be sold for silver of a certain standard, as precious stones, cotton, &c. for 5 per cent. silver.—Silk apparel for 10 per cent.—Bazar articles 15 per cent. The currency of different districts also varies, as at Amerapoorah it is said to be Namaikhai, or 25 per cent. and the king's revenues are always paid in Roucence, 2½ per cent. or flowered silver. The trivial name flowered has been given this kind of silver by the Portuguese, on account of its having the appearance of radiated stars, or flowers, on the superior surface; these stars are occasioned by that lambent, vivid flame, which plays on the surface of metals in fusion, as they approach to purity, and vanishes when they attain it; and if the process is longer continued, the metal itself is dissipated, as is well known to me-

tallurgists. These marks, therefore, cannot indicate pure silver, as is commonly supposed, for the process must be stopped short of purity to obtain them. We accordingly find that none of the Birmah flowered silver is pure, and much of it contains a large proportion of alloy.

Every one must be aware, that where the marks and current value of a commercial medium are so uncertain and arbitrary, much inconvenience must ensue, especially to strangers. Indeed so precarious is the business, that I never found any of the Poizahs, or professed Soucars of the country, capable of determining the relative value of bullion with precision; but this will be more fully shewn in the table of assay, Appendix B.

Exclusive of the uncertain value of the bullion, the Soucars have an infamous habit of adding Stick Lack to the ingots, to increase their weight. Captain Cox had 14 per cent. of this base matter beaten off from bul-

lion paid him at Amerapoorah, they did not dare object to his doing it, but all the merchants are obliged to submit to the imposition, evading the consequence as well as they can, by passing it off in the same state to others. On this account a kind of compromise takes place amongst the adepts of the country, an umpire is chosen between them, who awards a deduction of so much per cent. for what they call fire; but strangers ignorant of these facts, or even knowing them, are entirely at the mercy of their Soucar, the officers of government winking at these practices in order to obtain trust-money.

While Captain Cox was at Amerapoorah, a total stop was put to trade for nearly three months by an attempt to introduce a new currency in the Birmah dominions, by which government was to gain on silver $66\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. and on copper 315 per cent.

The silver bullion is cash in buttons, or

ingots, as irregular in their weight as their value, usually from 3½ to 7 Tecals each, hence another loss arises of 2 or 2½ per cent. in making small payments, as these ingots must be cut to the weight wanted.

The subordinate currency of the country is lead, and all the common Buzar articles, as fish, flesh, rice, greens, &c. &c. are sold for so many weights of lead: as, for example, fish according to its abundance or excellence, is sold for three times, or seven times its weight of lead, and so for other articles.

Lead being a royal monopoly, the price is raised in the Buzars infinitely above its intrinsic value.

Its mean rate of value in the country is about twelve Tecals per hundred Viss, but it is sold by wholesale in the government Godowns at Rangoon, at 50 Tecals per 100 Viss, and current in the Buzar, at sixty.

TABLE of the value of Birmah Bullion compared with Calcutta Sicca Rupees. *N. B.* 100 Tecals weigh nearly 142 Sicca Rupees; and Sicca have two per cent. alloy.

BIRMAH NAME AND STANDARD.	Calcutta Assay below S. Stand.	Weight Tecals. Tecals.	Weight Sicca. S. Rs.	Actually coined. S.Rs.	as.	p.
No. 1. Baw or pure silver,	2 per cent.	100 equal	142	134	3	6.
2. Roucence flowered silver, 2½ per cent.	8 do.	100 do.	142	126	8	4.
3. Naimai Khai, 5 do.	12 do.	100 do.	142	119	1	0.
4. Tah Chai Khai, 10 do.	21½ do.	100 do.	142	108	0	0.
5. Aha Chai Nakeah Khai, 25 do.	38 do.	100 do.	142	91	0	0.

The

The above table is formed from the Calcutta assay-master's report, on specimens of bullion which I sent to the mint and had coined for the purpose. But it must be observed that the specimens I sent, were selected with care by my own Soucar, were nearly free from adventitious matter, and much superior to the bullion ordinarily circulated under the same denominations. As for example, No. 2. Roucence or flowered silver 8 per cent. were three Sicca standard, or ten per cent. below pure standard. I had fused from 25 per cent. Rangoon currency in my own house to defray my expenses at Amerapoorah, and sustained a loss of 37½ per cent. which makes the ordinary 35 per cent. silver or Rangoon currency 47½ per cent. below pure standard, or 45½ below Sicca standard. Whereas the table gives only 38 per cent. which is a variation of 7½ per cent. And the same variation, or greater, will be found in all the other kinds.

Exclusive of the imports and exports detailed in the Appendix C. and D. the Birmahs carry on a considerable trade by sea boats; but it being in a great degree clandestine, it is difficult to ascertain the amount. By dint of multiplied inquiries at Amerapoorah, Rangoon, and at Calcutta, Captain Cox obtained the following information, which is near the truth, at least sufficiently so for a general view.

From Rangoon there are ten or twelve boats fitted out annually, and about thirty more from various towns on the Era Wuddey, from Pegain southwards; these proceed by the way of Bassien river through the channels which divide the great Negrais from the continent, along the coast of Arracan to Luckipore, Dacca, Balighaut, Baugwangolah, and even to Patna, and Benares. They are in general large boats from 1000 to 1500 Maunds burthen, manned with 20 or 25 men each, the crews are only found in coarse provisions by the

owners, but have a privilege of trading to a certain amount on their own account. On an average they are supposed to carry each to the amount value of 4000rs. chiefly in bullion, of the remainder, sheathing board, sticks, copper from China, Stick Lack, Cutch, Ivory, and Wax.

From Arracan there are about forty or fifty boats equipped annually by merchants who travel across the country from Amerapoorah, Cheghein, &c. These boats are smaller than the southern ones, generally not exceeding 500 Maunds burthen. Their capitals, &c. nearly the same as the others, so that stating the whole at 90 boats, and 4000rs. for each boat, the capital employed will be 360,000rs: of this perhaps 60,000rs. is in articles above enumerated, the remainder in silver bullion.

One half of these boats are said to return laden with red betel-nut; and this trade is so systematically established, that they even farm the Soopauree plantations about

Luckipore, &c. and manufacture the white into red nut themselves. The art consists in gathering the nut in a certain stage of its growth, steeping it in hot water to extract the gummo-resinous juices, and then drying it. The Birmahs say that the nut thus manufactured, including all expenses, costs them 40rs. per hundred Viss, or 8rs. 12as. per Maund; and this may be true as to the whole expense, but the prime cost per Maund of the crude nut just gathered, is from 3rs. to 4rs. 12as. per Maund. I understand they import about 1500 Maunds per annum, which, including expenses during their residence in Bengal, may absorb about one Lack of Rupees of their whole capital, the remaining two Lacks and sixty thousand Rupees is invested in various goods, such as enumerated in the table of imports Appendix C.

This trade in betel-nuts is very gainful to them, and carried on with great avidity, as the Luckipore nut is in great request in

the Birmah dominions, and sells at 120 and 150 Tecals per 100 Viss; when the Malay red nut only sells for 40 or 50 Tecals per 100 Viss.

Two Lack and sixty thousand Rupees vested in piece-goods, or we will even take the extreme of three Lacks, appear but a small sum in the extended scale of our commercial operations; as too insignificant to affect the interest of our merchants, and therefore ought not to excite their jealousy or apprehension.

Exclusive of the many grievous impositions and obstructions to which the English and other foreign merchants are subject at Rangoon, from a venal and fluctuating government, they are regularly liable to many heavy charges which the Birmah merchants evade. The latter, from their frugal habits and mode of navigating their small craft, reduce the charge of freight to a mere trifle. They have no war-risk; and sea-risk to them is trifling, the voyage for

the most part being conducted through channels little exposed; and every man is interested in the safety of the whole. They have no port charges or duties of any kind to pay at Bengal. They go at once to the places where the goods are manufactured, by which they save the intermediate profits and charges of agency, &c. When they return they call at Ramaree, get their goods bartered, and a certificate of their having paid the king's duties for a trifling *douceur* to the officers of government. And when they arrive at Bassien or Rangoon, they have no port duties to pay; so that they can bring their goods to market at least 50 per cent. cheaper than the fair trader; and by underselling him, gradually depreciate the value of goods in the market, until they no longer yield to him even a living profit, and must ultimately compel him to abandon the trade. This is nearly the case at present at Rangoon, and, combined with the exactions of government, is the great

cause of the decline o the shipping trade.

The remedy for this evil is partly within our power, but it principally depends on the Birmah government, and it was with a view to the introduction of a better system than they at present know or practise, that a Memorial on Commerce was offered to his Birmah majesty by the late Captain Cox.

The last branch of external commerce, is their trade with China by the Era Wuddey.

It has been already noticed, that Cotton is the chief article of their exports to China. And I am informed, that, from 100 to 150 boats, each carrying 10,000 Viss of that article, proceed annually to Quantong, and that the selling price fluctuates between 50 and 70 Tecals per 100 Viss: taking 60 Tecals as the mean price, and 100 boats as the average tonnage, the amount of sale of Cotton will be 600,000 Tecals. The Birmahs also export precious stones, amber, &c. The birds imported from Arracan,

edible Bird's-nests, Ivory, Tobacco, White Betel Nut, Jaggree, Salt, and perhaps a small portion of their foreign imports, amounting to 200,000 Tecals, or eight Lacks of Tecals on the whole.

One moiety is bartered for the following articles: raw silk, wrought silks, velvets, brocades, gold-leaf and thread, carpets, (these are the only Chinese woollens I saw in the country, and are of that kind of manufacture which we call *felt*) curious tinsel foils, drugs, sticks of copper, coloured paper, dried fruits and sweetmeats, coarse tea and sugar-candy, copper and cast-iron pots, Pauswaree cutlery and iron mongery, toys, &c. &c. The first very pure in stamped plates and ingots, the other also stamped about the standard of Roucence, or 10 per cent. worse than pure silver.

The following is a summary view of the whole of the Birmah foreign commerce according to the best information procurable by the late Captain Cox.

Imports by shipping, &c. at Bassien and Rangoon.

From Bengal, country goods - -	347,255	
From Madras, &c. - - - - - -	58,450	
From China, - - - - - - - -	11,050	
From the Malabar coast, &c. - -	5,800	
From the Malay Islands, &c. - -	92,750	
From the Nicobar Islands - - -	56,250	
From Europe - - - - - - -	333,620	
Various Articles from Bengal not enumerated - - - - - - -	94,825	
	1,000,000	
To the above, which is estimated from duties received at the king's Godowns, I am well informed may be added, for smuggled goods - - - - - - - - -	200,000	
Total imports by shipping, Tecals Rangoon currency - - - - -		1,200,000

Imports by boats *via* Arracan, Bassien and Rangoon.

From Bengal, 40 boats, Rangoon, &c. 4000 Tecals each - -	160,000	
From do. 50 do. Arracan do. do. -	200,000	360,000
Total foreign imports by sea	Tecals	1,560,000

Carried over

Exports.

	Brought over	1,560,000
By shipping from Rangoon and Bassien	700,000	
By boats from do.	20,000	
By do. from Arracan	40,000	
Total exports	Tecals	760,000
Balance against the country on foreign trade by sea, and paid in silver bullion smuggled out of the country	Tecals	800,000
Deduct balance in favor of the country on China trade		400,000
Net balance against the country on the whole of their foreign trade	Tecals	400,000

This drain is supplied partly by the mines within the proper Birmah territory, and partly by the tribute paid by the Shan Chobwahs.

To conclude, the following papers will illustrate Captain Cox's information on the commercial relations of the Birmah government.

A. Is a comparative table of the price of Teak timber, &c.

B. Table of the relative value of Birmah bullion, compared with Sicca standard weights, measures, &c. &c.

C. A table of imports by shipping at Rangoon and Bassien.

D. A table of exports by shipping from Rangoon and Bassien.

E. A table of port-fees and charges, and king's duties on imports and exports at Rangoon.

F. A table of the authorized duties levied at the Chokeys on the Era Wuddey, &c. between Amerapoorah and Rangoon, according to the government's records in the Court of Loots at Amerapoorah.

G. A list of the specimens of Birmah manufactures and produce forwarded with this report.

H. An account of the mode of manufacturing Cutch or *Terra Japonica* in the Birmah dominions.

A.

REFERENCE ACCORDING TO CAPTAIN COX.

Average Price of Timbers for Thirteen Years past.

Quantity.	Length.	Diameter.	Rangoon.		Calcutta.		Cochin.		
			Tecals.	Avs.	Rupees.	Annas.	Conas.	At per Candy.	Rupees.
Mast Pieces	50 to 60 cubits	20 to 25 inches	225		1000				
Ditto, ditto	40 to 50 ditto	18 to 20 do.	125		700				
Ditto, ditto	30 to 35 ditto	Ditto ditto	70		350				
Keel Pieces	The same as Mast pieces with the expenses of squaring.								
Ditto, ditto	70 feet	18 to 22 inches					18	22 rs.	396
Beam ditto	35 feet	13 inches					3¼	17	65
Duggies	28 to 30 feet	18 to 26 inches	15		100				
Zugars	15 to 18 feet	Ditto ditto	6		40				
Artees	28 to 30 feet	10 inches	3		20				
Bend Pieces	50 to 60 do.	10 ditto	27		127				
Shiubin	28 to 30 do.	166 by 183 inches	4		25 ea				
Ditto	Ditto, ditto	3½ by do.	3		18 ea				
Yards and T. Masts	28 to 50 feet	12 to 18 do.	27		44				
Comer Plank	25 to 30 do.	2 to 3 do.	2 a		8 ea				
Sawn ditto	28 to 30 do.	1½ by 12 do.	2		8½				5
Ditto ditto	Ditto ditto	2 by do.	4		16½			p.	6¾
Ditto, ditto	Ditto ditto	2½ by do.	5		24½			p.	9½
Sheathing Board	per 100		45		125				
Staves	Ditto ditto		14		20				

B.

TABLE of the relative value of Birmah bullion, compared with Sicca standard, weight, measures, &c.

There is not at present any current coin in the country; gold and silver bullion, and lead, are the current mediums of commerce: pure gold (*Shooce*) is sold for twenty times its weight of what is called five per cent. silver, but as the said silver is fourteen per cent. below pure standard, it will be only 17 and one-fifth of pure silver for one of gold. At Rangoon 15 weights of pure silver only, was given for one of the same gold; but that was owing to the ignorance of the English merchant, who knew not the comparative values between Amerapoorah and Rangoon currency. He paid 20 Tecals of five per cent. silver for it, and received 25 Tecals of twenty-five per cent.

silver, which reduced forty per cent. to pure standard, is exactly 15 weights for one. At Rangoon they give 20 Tecals of twenty-five per cent. silver for one Calcutta gold (*Mohur*), which is 16⅔ weights for one. At Calcutta the mean value of gold and silver is as fifteen to one nearly. Lead passes current in the Buzars at various rates; at Amerapoorah from 10 to 20 Tecals of five per cent. silver for 100 Viss, or as one to 1000; at Rangoon from 20 to 60, or as one to 500, or one to 167 nearly. Silver bullion is the general medium of commerce, and is classed and named as follows:—

Degree of purity according to the Bund.		Birmah Names.	Degree of purity according to Calcutta Mint Assay.
No. 1.	Pure Silver .	Baw	4 per cent.
2.	Flowered silver	Roucence	10 do.
3.	5 per cent. .	Namai Khai	14 do.
4.	8 do. . .	She Mon Khai . . .	
5.	10 do. . .	Tah Chai na Khai . .	23½ do.
6.	15 do. . .	Chai na Keat Khai . .	
7.	20 do. . .	Nha Chai na Khai . .	
8.	25 do. . .	Nha Chai na Keat Khai	40 do.
9.	30 do. . .	Thom Chai Khai . .	
10.	35 do. . .	Thom Chai na Kheat Khai	
11.	40 do. . . .	Lai Chai Khai . . .	
12.	50 do. . . .	Koup Keaw or half & half.	

	Birmah Names.	Sicca Standard.	Tecal weight.	Equal to Sa. wt.	Coined yields
No. 1.	Baw	2 per cent below	. 100	. 142	. 134 3 6
2.	Roucence . .	8 do.	do. . 100	. 142	. 126 8 4
3.	Namai Khai .	12 do.	do. . 100	. 142	. 119 1 0
5.	Tah Chai Khai .	21½ do.	do. . 100	. 142	. 108 0 0
8.	Aha Chai na Keat Khai, 25 per cent. Rangoon currency	38 do.	do. . 100	. 142	. 91 0 0

WEIGHTS.

The Birmah weights are extremely irregular, as well as their currency; even among the gold-smiths I never could find two sets of the same standard, nor any two weights of the same set of their due relative weight; for example, the king's standard Tecal, or 100 Viss weight, should be 10ds. 13gs. or 253 Troy grains: the 20 Tecals weight, therefore, should be 5060 grains, but I have found it varying from 5160 grains to 4998 grains, and the intermediate weights in the series much more irregular. The following table I have formed from the king's standard Tecal weight, adding, according to usage, ¼ of a Tecal, or 63 grains to the 20 Tecals weight, and ⅛ or 31½ grains to the 10 Tecals weight.

			GRAINS.
1 Yooe tah ra or Red Seed Weight *(Bheer Mittee)* universally used in India, called also Aviss by the Birmah merchants			2 '53
4 Yooe tahra (or Aviss)	1 Lai Yooe	equal to	10 .2
2 Lai yoo ai	1 Thabai	do.	20 '24
25 Aviss	1 Moo	do.	63 '25
50 do.	1 Mah Moo	do.	126 '50
100 do.	1 Ta Keat or Tecal	do.	253 0
2 Ta Keat or Tecal	1 Nhai Keat	do.	506 0
2 Nhai Keat	1 Lai Keat	do.	1012 0
10 Ta Keat or Tecal	1 Tai Keat ta chai	do.	2561 '62
20 do. do. do.	1 Ai Keat na chai	do.	5723 '24
100 do. do. do.	1 Pauk tha or Viss	do.	25,300 0

Or 4dr. 4ous. 14ds. 4ous. Troy, or 3dr. 9ous. 13dr. 23gs. avoirdupoise. 100 Paick tha or Viss, 1 Ahguart tarra equal to 439lb. 2ous. 16drs 16gs. Troy, or 361lb. 6ous. 11ds. avoirdupoise, but gross weight is ordinarily reckoned 365lb. avoirdupoise to 100 Viss.

TALE.

100 Aviss	1 Tecal or Takeat
100 Tecals	1 Viss or Paick tha
100 Viss or Paick tha	1 Ah quack tarra

DRY MEASURE.

1 Pea	equal to	2 Pucka Seer
4 Pea	1 Chauk	8 do. do.
4 Chaick	1 Thain or basket	32 do. do.
2½ Thain or baskets		80 Seers, or a Bengal bag of rice.

LONG MEASURE.

According to the Standard of the present King.

24 Zummah or Thumbs	1 Tah Dine (cubit)	equal to	21 inches.
7 Tah down or cubits	1 Tah	do.	147 do.
20 Tah	1 Tah Akh tha pa	do.	2940 do.
50 Akh tha pa	1 Tah Dine	do.	14,700 do.
6 Tah Dine	1 Yoodanah	do.	882,000 do.

Note, One Tah Dine is a Birmah Coss and equal to British statute miles, 2ms. 2fs. 4poles. 4f. and the Yoodunah of course will be 13ms. 4f. 25poles. 7½f. The ancient

measure of the country is much less: 24 fingers make a cubit, equal to 17½ inches; the ancient Tah Dine or Coss and Yoodanah, therefore, will be 1m. 7f. 33p. 2f. 10i. and 11ms. 6f. 39p. If the cubit should be 18 inches, the Tah Dine or Coss will be only 20 yards short of two British statute miles, and the Yoodanah 20 poles short of 12 miles. But there is another cubit mentioned in the Birmah books, and which is said to be their astronomical measure.

(C.) REFERENCES ACCORDING

GOODS IMPORTED AT RAN-

ARTICLES.	Quantity annually.	Price of Purchase.
Behar Tanjebs	4,000 Pieces	60 to 70 Rupees per Cord
Mulmuls, (3 sorts)	1,000 Do.	4, 5, and 6 do. per Piece
Corsed as	1,000 Do.	4 to 8 Rs. each
Moa Sounas	2,000 Do.	40 Rupees per Cord
Balasore do.	500 Do.	6 to 10 Rs. per Piece
Patua Chintz	20,000 Do.	10 Rupees per Cord
Striped Dimity	500 Do.	4 do. per Piece
Corsed Roomals	10,000 Handkerchiefs	10 do. per Cord
Carpets	10,000	30 to 40 Rs. per Cord
Choppah Roomals	10,000 Pieces	80 to 120 do. do.
Taffeties	1,000 Do.	4 to 6 do. per Piece
Sister Soys Roomals	500 Do.	4 to 6 do. do.
Gold flowered Muslins	200 Do.	20 to 30 do. do.
Long Cloth	250 Do.	15 to 20 do. do.
Rose Water	100 Carboys	8 to 10 per each
Soft Sugar	1,000 Mds. first sort	8 Rupees per Md.
Ghee	100 Do.	12 to 15 do. do.
Rum	3,000 Gallons	12 Annas per Gallon
Silver Plate	. . .	. . .
Diamonds	. . .	. . .
Gold Mohurs	100	16 Rupees
		MADRAS.
Madrapacks, 2½ and 3 Cubits wide	1,000 Pieces	40 to 60 St. Pag. per Cord
Moues, 2 Cubits by 32 do.	600 Do.	70 to 80 do. do.
Long Cloth	100 Do.	6 to 8 do. per Piece
Izaurs	100 Do.	3 to 4 do. do.
Prolicat Handkerchiefs	500 Do.	45 do. per Cord
Coarse Chintz	100 Do.	10 do. do.
Purdas (Drapery)	500 Do.	14 do. do.
Cunum Cullas (Drapery)	100 Do.	3 to 4 St. Pag. each
Masulipatam Handkerchiefs	1,000 Do.	25 Pag. per Cord
		CHINA.
Coarse China Ware	. . .	20,000 Dollars Annually
Tea	10 to 20 Chests	. . .
Sugar Candy	100 Tubs	. . .
Velvet	100 Pieces	20 to 30 Dollars per Piece
Silk	100 Do.	16 Dollars do. do.

TO CAPTAIN COX. (C.

GOON FROM CALCUTTA.

Price of Sales.	Amount of Separate Sales. Tecals.	M.	Gross Amount. Tecals.	M.
6½ Tecals per Piece	26,000			
12 to 15 Tecals per Piece	13,500			
8 to 16 do. do.	12,000			
80 to 90 do. per Cord	8,500			
16 to 20 Tecals per Piece	9,000			
18 to 20 do. per Cord	19,000			
8 to 10 do. per Piece	4,500			
20 do. per Cord	10,000			
70 to 80 do. per do.	37,500			
8 to 12 do. per Piece	100,000			
8 to 12 do. do.	10,000			
8 to 12 do. do.	5,000			
40 to 50 do. do.	9,000			
30 to 40 do. do.	8,750			
16 Tecals each	1,600			
60 Tecals per 100 Viss	13,550			
120 to 150 per 100 Viss	3,375			
2 Tecals per Gallon	6,000			
	1,000			
	30,000			
18 to 20 Tecals	19,000			
			347,255	
MADRAS.				
15 to 20 Tecals per Piece	17,500			
15 to 20 do. do.	10,500			
30 to 50 do. do.	4,000			
15 to 20 do. do.	1,750			
15 do. do.	7,500			
3 do. do.	3,000			
5 do. do.	2,500			
25 to 30 Tecals each	2,700			
9 Tecals do. Piece	9,000			
			58,450	
CHINA.				
From 50 to 70 per Cent. advance	64,000			
120 Tecals per Chest	1,800			
15 to 20 Tecals per Tub	1,750			
80 to 90 do. per Piece	8,500			
50 Tecals per Piece	5000			
			81,050	
Carried over			486,755	

ARTICLES.	Quantity annually.	Price of Purchase.
		BOMBAY
Pearls		
Sandal	1,000 Viss	
Dates	1,000 Do.	
		MALAY
Red Betel Nut	120,000 Viss	8 Luxurs for 24 Dollars
White do. do.	40,000 Do.	8 do. do.
Nutmegs	100 Do.	
Mace	50 Do.	
Cloves	1,000 Do.	
		NICOBAR
Cocoa Nut	5 to 10 Lacks	500 to 1000 Rs. per Lack
		EUROPE.
Companies Broad Cloths	1,000 Pieces	
Superfine do.	50 Do.	
Carpets	500 Do.	
Long Ells, or Embossed Cloth	200 Do.	
Velvet, Red and Blue	60 Do. 18 yds. each	
Gold Lace, 3 inches wide	300 Yds.	
Cutlery	5 Boxes	
Iron	50,000 Viss.	
Nails	5,000 Do.	
Steel	1,000 Do.	
Fire Arms	1,000 Stand	
Glass Ware		
Beads		
Ship Chandlery of all descriptions		
Carpenters' Tools		
Mats		
Drugs		
Gold Thread		
Optical and other Instruments		
Various Articles from Bengal and other places not enumerated		

N.B. The above Table is formed principally from the Duties received at the King's Go[illegible]ns; Goods smuggled to the amount of

—*(continued.)*

Price of Sale.	Amount of Separate Sale. Tecals.	M.	Gross Amount. Tecals.	M.
AND COAST.				
Brought forward . . .			486,755	
. . . . .	4,000			
1½ Tecals per Viss	1,500			
60 to 40 Tecals per 100 Viss	350			
			5,850	
COAST.				
40 to 50 Tecals per 100 Viss	54,000			
20 to 30 do. do.	10,000			
40 to 60 do. do.	5,000			
50 to 100 do. do.	3,750			
10 to 30 do. do.	20,000			
			92,750	
ISLANDS.				
5 to 10 Tecals per 100	56,250			
			56,250	
EUROPE.				
120 to 150 Tecals per Piece	135,000			
190 to 200 do. do.	9,750			
40 to 45 do. do.	21,250			
70 to 80 do. do.	15,000			
8 to 10 Tecals per Yard	9,720			
10 Tecals do.	3,000			
460 do. per Box	2,300			
40 to 50 Tecals per 100 Viss	22,500			
80 to 100 do. do.	4,500			
4 to 5 Tecals per Viss	4,500			
. . . . .	15,000			
. . . . .	10,000			
. . . . .	2,500			
. . . . .	60,000			
. . . . .	3,000			
. . . . .	1,500			
. . . . .	10,000			
. . . . .	3,500			
. . . . .	4,000			
			334,520	
. . . . .	24,775		23,375	
			1,000,000	
exclusive of which, it is supposed there are			200,000	
	TOTAL . . .		1,200,000	

D.

REFERENCES ACCORDING TO CAPTAIN COX.

EXPORTS ANNUALLY FROM RANGOON.

ARTICLES.	Quantity.	Rate of Sales.	Gross Amount of Sales exported. Tecals.	M.
Mast and Heel Pieces	150 to 200	at 60 to 200 Tecals each	22,750	
Duggies	1,000 to 2,000	at 10 to 20 do. each	22,500	
Shinbin	5 to 700 per	6 to 10 do. per pair	48,000	
Sawn Plank	1,000 do.	4 do. do.	4,000	
Comer do.	500 to 1,000 do.	3 to 5 do. do.	3,000	
Artus	4 to 500 do.	6 to 8 do. do.	3,150	
Joists	2,500 do.	3½ do. do.	8,750	
Sheathing Board	20 to 30,000 do.	45 Tecals per hundred	11,250	
Staves	100,000	14 do. do.	14,000	
Shipping	3,000 Tons in the following proportion:			
		Tecals.		
		Iron 60,000		
		Timbers . . . 60,000		
		Labour . . . 120,000		
		Out fit . . . 120,000		
			360,000	
Cordage of all sizes		15 to 17 Tecals per 100 Viss		
Iron Country-wrought Nails, &c.		50 Tecals per 100 Viss		
Do. in Pegs		25 to 30 do. do.		
Dungaree, 2¼ Cubits by 14		2½ Tecals per piece		
Wood Oil	3 to 4,000 Viss	10 to 15 Tecals per 100 Viss	437	50
Earth Oil	1,000 do.	3 to 4 do. do.	35	
Cotton Clean		45 to 50 do. do.		
Indigo		20 do. do.		
Stick Lack	200,000 Viss	40 to 50 do. do.	90,000	
Catch	100,000 do.	12 to 15 do. do.	13,500	
Ivory, 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th sorts	100,000 do.	at 3, 2, 1½ Tecals per Viss	30,000	
Sapan wood				
Arsenic	6 to 7,000 Viss	70 to 80 Tecals per 100 Viss	4,875	
Lead		12 do. do.		
Copper		1½ do. do.		
Wax	5,000 Viss	175 do. do.	8,750	
Tin	8 to 10,000 Viss	100 to 120 do. do.	9,900	
Birds' Nests	100 Viss	40 to 50 Tecals per Viss	4,500	
Cardamums	4,000 Viss	90 to 120 Tecals per 100 Viss	4,200	
		Carried over	663,597	50

EXPORTS *(continued.)*

ARTICLES.	Quantity.	Rate of Sales.	Gross Amount of Sales exported	
			Tecals.	M.
		Brought over . . .	663,597	50
Fish Maws and Sharks' Fins . . .	5,000 do. . .	50 to 60 Tecals per 100 Viss .	2,750	
Dammer . . .	. . .	10 to 15 do. do. . . .		
Chunam . . .	. . .	16 to 20 do. per 100 Baskets .		
Charong . . .	. . .	75 to 100 do. per 100 Viss .		
Tobacco . . .	. . .	30 to 40 do. do. . . .	2,000	
Precious Stones . .	. . .	. . . . .	26,652	
Pepper, Martalan, and Tongs . .	. . .	1 Tecal per Viss . . .		50
Towels and other Country Cloths . .	. . .	. . . . .	5,000	
		Tecals . . .	700,000	

E.

REFERENCES ACCORDING TO CAPT. COX.

A TABLE of Port Fees and Charges, with King's Duties on Imports and Exports, at Rangoon.

	Tecals.	A.	Tecals.	A.	Tecals.	A.
SALAMEY, or KING's PRESENT.						
1 Piece of Currum Cullas	30	0				
1 ditto of Madraparks	20	0				
1 ditto of Moa Sannas	4	0				
2 Masulipatam Handkerchiefs	1	50				
Flowered Silver 2½ Tecals, or 25 per Cent.	3	77				
			59	27		
VISITS.						
132 to 148 China Plates	40	0				
7 Viss of Coarse Sugar	7	0				
			47	0		
CANECAUSES.						
To the Mew Whoon	65	0				
To the Yie-Whoon	65	0				
To the 2 Auk-hoons . . . 60 ea.	120	0				
To the 2 Chokeys. . . . . 50 ea.	100	0				
To the 2 Nah-hoons . . . 50 ea.	100	0				
To the 2 Shuny Dhogus . 40 ea.	80	0				
To the 2 Linguists . . . . 20 ea.	40	0				
To the Sed haighran, or dispatches to Court to give notice of the vessels' arrival	70	0				
To the Keepers of the Town Gate	5	0				
To the Chokey coming up the River	5	0				
To the Do. at the Landing-place	25	0				
To the Godown Peons	7	0				
			682	0		
PILOTAGE AND ANCHORAGE.						
Pilotage flowered Silver 200 Tecals, or 47 per Cent.	294	0				
Anchorage do. do. 42, or do. do.	61	74				
			355	74		
					1,144	1
LEAVING THE PORTS.						
The Chokey Orders	5	0				
7 Viss of Sugar	7	0				
Pilotage	100	0				
					112	0
TOTAL . . .					1,256	1

If the articles for his majesty's presents are not to be procured, the officers of government generally demand from 90 to 120 Tecals as an equivalent.

The port charges for a snow are the same as for a ship, except a deduction of 100 Tecals, 25 per cent. silver from the pilotage and anchorage; and the charges for a sloop or cutter is 100 Tecals less than a snow.

All Duties on Imports are taken in kind, as follows:

His Majesty		10 per Cent.
Godown	$1\frac{1}{10}$ per Cent.	
Writer	$\frac{1}{10}$ Do.	
Chop Man	$\frac{1}{10}$ Do.	
Salamey	$\frac{1}{10}$ Do.	
Weigh Man a Counter .	$\frac{1}{10}$ Do.	
		$2\frac{1}{10}$
Total Imports Duties . . .		$12\frac{1}{10}$

Besides the above duties, a piece is taken from each of the first five bales opened belonging to the ship; but if the goods are on freight, 40 Tecals 25 per cent. silver is demanded from the ship, and one piece of cloth only taken from the freighters.

His majesty allows all commanders of ships trading to Rangoon to import 2,200 Tecals worth of goods, free from duty, as an encouragement; but the officers of government have lately withheld one-third of this privilege, and applied it to their own use.

Upon all exports a duty is paid to his majesty of 5 per cent. in bullion, except timber, of which the duties are taken in kind.

Carpenters' wages, upon an average, is 18 Tecals per month.

Common Coolie hire from 10 to 12 Tecals.

House rent, such as are occupied by English merchants, upon an average 50 Tecals per month.

Boat hire from ½ to 2 Tecals *per diem*, according to the burthen of the boat, exclusive of the men.

All goods landed from shipping pay ¼ a Tecal Coolie hire for box, band, or bale, from the Waif to the King's Godown; and the same from the Godown to the merchant's house.

Articles of a smaller kind pay so much per 100.

All requisitions made to the members of government, however trifling, must be accompanied by a present, and their deputies afterwards fee'd to permit their superiors' orders being carried into execution; and these exactions often occur several times for the same thing.

F.

REFERENCES ACCORDING TO CAPTAIN COX.

A TABLE of the authorized Duties levied at the Chokeys on the Era Wuddey, &c. between Amerapoorah and Rangoon, according to the Government records in the Court of Loots at Amerapoorah.

CHOKEYS' NAMES.	Names of the Proprietors.	Upwards per Man.	Downwards per Man.	Per Covet Upwards.	Presents per Man Upwards.	Presents per Man Downwards.	In kind per Man.
Keouptoulong	Non-gwayhoon		⅛ of a Tecal			½ Tecal	1 per Cent.
Moeggoe	A Prince		½ Do.	½ of a Tecal	½ of a Tecal	½ Do.	1 Do.
Pulloe	Prince of Prone	½ of a Tecal	½ Do.		½ Do.	½ Do.	1 Do.
Puttoo	A Queen's		½ Do.	6/10 Do.	½ Do.	½ Do.	1 Do.
Kevienzelee	Prince of Prone	⅛ Do.	⅛ Do.		½ Do.	½ Do.	1 Do.
Hain Tke in the town of Prone	Do. Do.	1 6/10 Do.	1 6/10 Do.		½ Do.	½ Do.	
	Do. Do.						
Nawain	Do. Do.		½ Do.	¾ Do.	½ Do.	½ Do.	1 Do.
Tong-Yai	Do. Do.	½ Do.	½ Do.		1 Do.	1 Do.	1 Do.
To Uiete Moo	A Queen's		½ Do.	¾ Do.	½ Do.	½ Do.	1 Do.
Bamue	1st Queen's		½ Do.	⅝ Do.	½ Do.	½ Do.	1 Do.
Yai-gain	1st Queen's	½ Do.	½ Do.		½ Do.	½ Do.	1 Do.
Ah-Khoor	A young Prince	½ Do.	½ Do.		½ Do.	½ Do.	1 Do.
Henzauce	A Princess		½ Do.	⅝ Do.	½ Do.	½ Do.	1 Do.
Denow-bow	A Queen		½ Do.		½ Do.	½ Do.	1 Do.
Yan-gansca, No. S.	1st Queen	½ Do.			½ Do.	½ Do.	1 Do.
Yan-gain . So. So.	1st Queen's Mother and King's Aunt				½ Do.	½ Do.	1 Do.
Panglong . No. So.	1st Queen's				½ Do.	½ Do.	1 Do.
Pang-long . So. So.	Queen's Mother				½ Do.	½ Do.	1 Do.
Kai-Man-dine	1st Queen				½ Do.	½ Do.	1 Do.
Ne-geik	Queen's Mother				½ Do.	½ Do.	1 Do.
	TOTAL	4 22½	7 35	4 5	10 0	10½ 0	19 0

N.B.—The above are merely to be understood as the legal duties, not what is demanded or exacted; indeed to such an excess of abuse are these exactions at present carried, as almost to interrupt the communication by water. The mode in which the merchants manage is, to purchase an exemption from the king, or the protection of any great man who is proceeding by water; and if that cannot be done, they collect a number of boats a little above or below the Chokeys, according as they are going up or down, and then send a man or two to negotiate with the Chokey for the terms on which he will suffer them to pass. Fleets of boats are often detained three or four months on their passage, solely on this account. Was a single boat, or a poor man to attempt the passage, they would be plundered and ruined to a certainty. It may be observed in the account of inland trade, that the price of articles produced in the interior is raised three or four hundred per cent. before they reach Rangoon, owing to the custom-house exactions.

G.

REFERENCES ACCORDING TO CAPT. COX.

List of the Specimens of the Birmah Manufactures and Produce.

No.	*Pachoes, or Men's Lungies.*	Price. Tecals.	a.	Rs.	a.	p.
1.	Rangoon currency, or 25 per cent. silver	72		56	3	10
2.	Ditto ditto ditto ditto	69		63	7	8
3.	do. do. do. do.	49		45	1	3
4.	do. do. do. do.	48		44	2	6
5.	do. do. do. do.	43		39	8	10
6.	do. do. do. do.	29		26	10	10

Note, Numbers 4, 5, and 6, are most in demand, as chiefly within the reach of the bulk of the people.

	Thum Mai, or Womens' Lungies.					
7.	Rangoon currency, 25 per cent. silver	19		17	7	8
8.	do. do. do. do.	17		15	10	2
9.	do. do. do. do.	15		13	12	9

Note. These are made-up dresses, but the silk part is ordinarily sold separately: it consists of two parts, the body and the border. And 2½ Rupees lining and making.

	Tha-back, or Womens' Scarfs.					
10.	Rangoon currency, 25 per cent. silver	14		12	4	

Note. This Tha-back is of the cheapest kind; the size only is necessary to be observed by the manufacturer, the pattern and colours may be varied at will, and the more brilliant the colours, the higher price will be given.

	Peanee, used by both sexes for their Jummas.					
11.	Five per cent. silver	12		13	7	

Note. This manufacture is in great esteem with the Birmahs, and the finest kinds as high as 50rs. per piece.

	Cha-Ong.					
12.	Ten per cent. silver	1	75	1	14	1

Phow-wha, or Towels.	Price.		Rs.	a.	p.
	Tecals,				
13. Rangoon currency, 25 per cent. silver		25		3	10
14. do. do. do. do.		50		7	8

Note. They manufacture towels, as high as two or three Tecals each.

N. B. The above articles, I think, may be manufactured for one half the price in Bengal.

RAW AND DYED SILK. *Raw Silk as imported from China* via *Quantong.*	Per Viss.	Per Pucka Seer.		
15. 25 per cent. silver for 1. 75 Viss	25	9	6	4

16. Raw Silk prepared for dyeing.
17. Various colours dyed by the Birmahs.

PRODUCE.

18. Brown Cotton with the seed. When cleaned 35 Tecals 5 per cent. silver per 100 Viss, or 8rs. 9as. 5p. per Bengal Buzar Maund.
19. Brown cotton seeded.
20. Tonghoo black pepper.
21. Birmah Catch.

MINERALS.

22. Silver Ore.
23. Lead Ore.
24. Lead Ore with plumbage.
25. Lead.
26. Tin Ore.
27. Tin.
28. Malachit, or Copper Ore.
29. Tin.
30. Supposed to contain Cobatt.
31. Arsenic or Orpiment.
32. Iron Ores.
33. Iron with Antimony.
34. Red Achree.
35. Birmah Cowim Dum, used for polishing guns.
36. Statuary Marble, used for lime.
37. Stentites, or soap earth.
38. Natrum.
39. Coppers.
40. Petroleum.
41. Cuarong Birmah Lack.

TOPOGRAPHY

AND

POPULATION OF AVA.

THE *Era Wuddey* river (supposed by Captain Cox to be a continuance of the Nan Kian of the Chinese) divides the original territory of the Birmahs into two unequal parts—to the eastwards they possess a tract of ten days' journey about 150 miles, to the banks of a river called the *Saloïng-Miet.* This river falls into the Sittong, and the latter disembogues itself into the gulph of Martaban—these rivers properly form the boundaries towards the Siamese country—

the banks on both sides are desolate, owing to the eternal predatory warfare between the two states; very little of the tract of country between these rivers and the Era Wuddey is inhabited or cultivated; a ridge of high mountains divides them, and the country, for the most part, is barren and jungley. To the westward, not including Arracan, they possess a tract varying in breadth from ten to thirty miles, where it is terminated by a ridge of mountains inhabited by a barbarous race called Kains, who are, for the most part independent of the Birmah government. This western tract continues along the west bank of the Chedouwain to latitude 24° north, where the country is said to be altogether mountainous or desert, so that excepting the plains of Manchewban, situated between the rivers *Chindouwein* and *Era Wuddey*, (which is said to be the granary of the northern part of the *Birmah* dominions,) they do not appear to me to possess, at least derive advantage from

any part of their extensive territority from *Kevun-incoun* to *Prone*, beyond fifteen miles from the banks of the Era Wuddey, in many parts not so much. To the northward they command the navigation of the Era Wuddey to Quantong on the frontiers of Yunan—to the north and east of Amerapoorah, the country is mountainous as far as the borders of Yunan to the north-east, and Laos to the east—the valleys are under the dominion of many little princes called Chobwahs, who pay a certain annual tribute, I fancy very trifling. The inhabitants of the mountainous tract in general are called Shans. *Shan* in the language of the Manchew and eastern Tartars is the generic name for mountain; to the northward of Manchewban also are several tributary Chobwahs, and beyond them, the country in general is mountainous and desert, inhabited by savage hordes called Yeoks and Carrian Nhees. Beyond the range of mountains to the west of the Chedouwain, is the country generally called Cossay, into which

the Birmahs have occasionally made incursions, but hold no regular communication with, or dominion over, it.

Below Prone the country in general is more level and susceptible of cultivation. On the banks of the river is as rich a soil as any in the world; to the south-east of Prone is the ancient kingdom of Tonghou, said to be fertile but thinly inhabited—to the southward and westward of Tonghou, the country, in general, to the sea, is called Henzawuddy—to the eastward and southward of Tonghou is the ancient kingdom of Sittong, now dependant on Henzawuddy. Martaban a large and populous province, lying round the gulph of the same name and extending some way down. The coast of Tenassarum is a separate government, the sea ports of Tavoy and Mergui have very little territory annexed, and are also separate governments.

All the country to the southward of Prone, formerly constituted the kingdom of Pegue; and as the outlines of it are pretty accurate-

ly delineated in Major Rennel's map, it needs no further description at present from me.

CLIMATE, SOIL, AND PRODUCE.—The climate of the whole of those parts of the Birmah dominions which I have visited, is more temperate and salubrious than any country of the same parallel of latitude that I know. The seasons are regular, and a pestilence was never known. Earthquakes are very rare, and storms or tempests seldom felt.

The soil of the upper provinces in general is a sandy loam, on a bed of free-stone, or ferruginous rock: in the lower provinces it has a larger proportion of argillaceous earth and vegetable matter.

The produce is various and abundant. The spontaneous produce of its forests maintains a decided pre-eminence from the northern frontiers to the sea. Teak wood, with all the varieties of timber known in India, is to be found in abundance and perfection. In the

upper provinces they grow wheat and all the variety of pulse, and dry grains known in India. On the banks of the rivers, and wherever they can command water, rice; besides indigo. Cossoomba of a very superior quality—very fine tobacco—and cotton of two kinds, the common white of India, and a brown kind peculiar to the country, which is imported to China for making nankeens; they have also abundance of sugar cane, but do not manufacture it, contenting themselves with Jaggree made from the Tear tree. They have great variety of fruits, some peculiar to the country. All those common to India, some in great perfection, as Mangoes, oranges, and melons—they have also the various legumes and excellent vegetables and roots common to India, and a dearth is seldom known; when it happens, it proceeds more from indolence and oppression, than any fault in the soil or climate.

MINES, MINERALS, &c.——The country

abounds in minerals, and they have several mines now open in various parts of their dominions, but they are very deficient in the arts of mining and metallurgy. I have particular accounts of almost all the mines in the country, and specimens of the ores, &c. which I hope soon to have the honor of sending you; at present I can only give you a catalogue of names. They have gold, silver, tin, lead, copper, zinc, iron, antimony, arsenic, sulphur, vitriol of copper, zinc and iron, natrou, nitre, mineral or fossil salt, coal, petroleum, amber, jet, rubies, sapphires, emeralds, topazes, amethysts, garnets, crystal, spar of various kinds, cats eyes, jasper, loadstone, onyxes of various kinds, steatites, marble, limestone, &c. &c. There are also several mineral springs, caverns, and caves, natural and artificial. I have accounts of some, which, if true, surpass every thing of the kind hitherto explored in India.

COMMERCE, ARTS, and MANUFACTURES.—

To China they export annually five or six Lacks of Rupees worth (prime cost) of cotton, the returns are made in raw silk, wrought silks, velvet, gold and silver thread, gold in ingots and plates—leaf-gold true and false for gilding (of which immense quantities are expended) foils of various colours, paper-toys and dried fruits—the Chinese also take off a great part of their ivory, amber, jasper, and precious stones, and some birds' nests brought from Tavoy and Mergui; but it does not appear to me that any European or Indian commodities find their way to China by this route, not even broad cloth; as under the present system the price would be too high before it reached the consumer, exclusive of this, the Chinese appear to me to be universally bigotted in favor of their own manufactures; with less liberality, their commercial policy seems to be regulated by the same principles as our own; they encourage the import of raw materials, and the export of manufactures. A Yunan—Chinese

pedlar's box differs but little from a Duke's-place Jew's, except in the fashion of the articles.

The whole produce of the ruby mines, in which sapphires, topazes, emeralds, and garnets, are found jumbled together, does not amount to more than 30,000 Tecals per annum; at least what are permitted to be sold: the most valuable being appropriated for the use of the king, and locked up in his treasury. The produce of the silver and other mines it is impossible to learn, but it is but trifling, owing to the rapacity of government which does not afford sufficient security to the adventurers, or allow them an adequate share for their risk and labour. Mining is every where a dangerous speculation; here particularly so—the Chinese and Shans are in general the adventurers.

To Bengal by the way of Arracan, they chiefly export Silver Bullion for the purchase of Silk and Cotton Piece-goods; they

speak of five hundred boats employed in that trade, but I much doubt the fact: it is in your power also to ascertain it; and it is necessary it should be done and subjected to some equalizing regulations, otherwise the carrying trade of our own shipping to Yanghong will be ruined. Should an accommodation take place, I shall submit some regulations for your consideration on that head.

From Yanghong and Bassien they export Stick Lack, Timber, Ivory, Wax, Cutch, Wood, and Earth Oil, Precious Stones, and other trifles, to various parts of India, to the amount of ten or fifteen Lacks of Tecals or Rupees; and import various European, Indian, and China goods, to the amount of ten Lacks, more or less.

From the Shan country they get Gold, Silver, Musk, Stick Lack, Ivory, Jasper, Horses, and Laipac, (a coarse kind of tea, in general use amongst them, and which they eat with oil, chillies, and garlic), the

eating of Laipac forms an indispensible part of the ceremonial in every contract.

From Martaban, Tavoy, and Mergui, they get a little Gold, wild Cardamums, Ivory, Wax, Birds'-nests, and Tin; and most of their Salt-fish and Blatchong.

They manufacture most of their silks, and dye them very well of various brilliant colours; also a fine brown cotton cloth, of which they are very fond; and a great deal of coarse, and some fine cotton cloth for their own consumption. They smelt metals: iron in large quantities for their own use; make paper, various articles of lacquered ware; refine culinary salt-petre; make gun-powder (very bad); manufacture most of the coarse ironmongery; found brass for various purposes; build ships and boats; make twine and cordage; turn in wood and ivory; polish and cut their precious stones; and excel in pottery; but all their best artificers are foreigners; all that they do is done rudely; and to their

women alone must be ascribed the merit of weaving and dyeing. A Birmah is seldom any thing else than a government servant, a soldier, boatman, husbandman, or labourer. They break in their cattle very well, but their arts of husbandry are very rude; their plough is nothing more than a large wooden rake, on which the ploughman stands and drives the oxen or buffaloes that draw it.—The grain is committed to the soil, and the crop is generally left to chance to make its way up with the spontaneous growth, except when in the ear, when a good deal of dexterity is used in defending it from the birds. In the culture of tobacco, Cossoomba, and some other articles, they are more careful; but husbandry, as well as every thing else, seems to be on the decline. Inclosures were once very general, and artificial reservoirs for water constructed in many places.

Population.—This is a question very difficult to be determined any where, but

more especially in a country so deficient in system as the Birmah empire; inquiries of this kind were also very delicate for a person in my situation to make. I have not, however, been deficient in inquiry, and shall now offer the little I have collected, but without vouching for its authenticity.

There are three stages of society in which man varies his habitation; in the earliest, or mere savage state, depending on the spontaneous productions of nature for support, he generally crowds to the margin of the sea, the banks of lakes and rivers; hence navigators have so often erred in estimating the population of the islands and coasts, which they have cursorily viewed. As numbers increase and other resources become necessary, men apply themselves to raising herds or tilling the soil, and gradually recede from the banks of rivers, &c. to the interior; a second visitant forms nice conjectures; in the third and last stage, when commerce is introduced, the banks of

navigable rivers, &c. are again frequented, and towns raised by the super-flux of society; and a third visitant of the same country will speculate on the new appearance of things, and condemn his predecessors without being a jot nigher the truth himself.

The Birmah nation has advanced to this last stage of society. The Era Wuddey is the high-road of the country, and the most fertile tracts of land are to be found on its banks and islands. A traveller passing and repassing to and from the capital, who has no opportunity of making incursions inland, would form very erroneous conclusions of the population of the country, were he to draw his inferences merely from the seas. I at first fell into this error myself, as I observe by some remarks in my diary on my way up the river. We must, therefore, have recourse to other *data;* scanty as they are, they may tend to throw some light on the subject.

The question of population I understand has been often agitated at the Birmah court, and four millions stated as the population of the Birmah territory, and I have reason to believe it is pretty near the truth, rather more than less. One of the town-clerks of Amerapoorah, told my informant that there were fifty thousand houses at Amerapoorah, including the suburbs and adjoining hamlets. I think this is an exaggerated account, because I know that Yanghong, the first place of trade in the Birmah dominions, and more populous than any other for its size, contains only 5000 taxable houses; and Amerapoorah in its most extended sum, does not appear to me more than four or five times as large. I have visited most parts of both cities, and think my estimate of their comparative size near the truth. Birmah houses are only of one story, and spread a good deal of surface; their cities, &c. are also crowded with many religious buildings, and the houses of all those employed under government, are

surrounded by court-yards, so that both these take up a great deal of room. As the taxes are levied on houses, a greater number of people are crowded under one roof, than is usual in single storied houses in other countries, I shall therefore allow seven persons to one house; and rating the houses of Amerapoorah at 25,000, it will make the population of the capital 175,000 souls, men, women, and children. The residence of a court, however despotic, has many attractions; it therefore serves in some measure as a criterion to judge of the population of the country. But even supposing the above stated number of inhabitants doubled, it would argue but a small population in the Birmah dominions.

A second data is the number of cities, towns, and villages in the Birmah dominions, conquered countries inclusive. It is said that his majesty, desirous of information on this subject, some years ago ordered that every city, town, or village, should send one soldier for the Birmah army, and that when

they were mustered at Amerapoorah there appeared to be 8000 men. Supposing this statement correct, and it is more likely to be exaggerated than diminished, we must have a regard to local circumstances before we can apply it as a data. In England and Wales I think there are about 1200 cities, towns, and villages, and the population of both countries is rated at about seven millions more or less; but it must be remembered that from the security derived from our happy government the face of the country is scattered over with habitations; besides, the flourishing state of our commerce has crowded our cities and towns with inhabitants. The case is far different with the Birmah dominions; its immense wilds are inhabited by savage hordes, or ferocious animals, hostile to the civilized inhabitants. Oppression is ever on the watch to seize the unprotected peasants; and anarchy and lawless rapine stalk at large throughout the land. The inhabitants

therefore are compelled to unite in societies for their mutual protection.

Their towns and villages in general are little more than a straggling row of huts along the strand, or a double row lining a road of communication. The whole of these 8000 cities, &c. do not average more than 150 or 200 houses each; taking the largest statement, or 200, it will make the number of houses in the Birmah dominions 1,600,000; and at seven persons to a house, 11,200,000 persons in the whole of the Birmah dominions; a very scanty population indeed for so extended a territory. And its very extension operates against its ever proving an adequate resource either for defence or revenue, for in truth not one half of this population can be said to be in a state of solid allegiance, and from the remainder a very large proportion must be deducted for females, old men, and infants.

The proportion of women to men has been stated to me as 10 to 6, and 4 to 1:

and this enormous disproportion of the sexes has been accounted for, by the incessant state of warfare in which the Birmah nation has been engaged by the restless ambition of its sovereigns, particularly those of the present dynasty; that it does not proceed from a natural cause, I have pretty well ascertained; for on the strictest inquiry I do not find that the births of females exceed that of the males beyond the usual proportion: but, admitting that the proportion does not exceed 3 to 1, and stating the effective population of the Birmah dominions at six millions, it will leave only 1,500,000 males; from these must be deducted all those under 15 years of age, and above 50, according to the common rules of political arithmetic; there will then remain one-fourth, or 375,000 men capable of bearing arms, supposing that the whole of the country was to rise in a *mass,* according to the modern phrase; but this experience has proved to be an impossi-

bility: I am therefore induced to credit what I have often heard asserted, that his present majesty would find it extremely difficult to raise and maintain for any length of time, an army of sixty thousand men; but this will more fully appear in the ensuing article.

Military Force.—His majesty has no standing land force, except a few undisciplined native Christians, and Renegadoes of all countries and religions, who act as artillery; a small body of cavalry, not exceeding one hundred; and perhaps two thousand undisciplined, ill armed, naked infantry. His armies are composed of levies, raised on the spur of the occasion by the princes, chobwahs, and great lords; these holding their lands by military tenure, and being assessed according the emergence or caprice of their sovereign. When therefore an expedition is set on foot, his majesty's council adjusts the proportion of men that is to be furnished by each district; imme-

diately the Jugghiredaur or Governor intrigues, and employs all his art and interest to get the number reduced; hence various delays, and obstructions to the public service: when his quota is finally fixed he proceeds to his Jugghire, and gives the like orders to the Mewdhaghees, (Zemendars) but exceeding the proportion established by the court, that he may pocket the commutation for the difference: the Mewdhaghees strive to abate their respective proportions, and impose on the inhabitants, from the same corrupt motives; and the inhabitants, in like manner, strive to avoid part of the imposed burthen; so that the whole country is thrown into commotion, and business neglected, and many of the poorer classes fly to the jungles, or totally abandon their country in order to avoid these impositions, to which there is no end. When the rates for a town is finally settled, as one man from two, four, or more houses, the inhabitants of those houses advance

three hundred Tecals for each recruit, for which sum he is bound to serve, without further pay during the war, be its term more or less: this man they produce, and deliver over at the appointed tribunal. He is obliged to furnish himself with a short spear, sword, and target; if he has no musket he is furnished with one from his majesty's stores, for which he pays a regulated price, ten Tecals flowered silver (about 15 S.Rs.) but is accountable for it at the end of the war; ammunition he is furnished with *gratis;* sometimes with grain from the public granaries, paying for the same, but chiefly shifts for himself by marauding: should he desert, his family and kindred are put into a straw hut and burnt alive; many dreadful examples of this kind have recently occurred; it is an undoubted fact. They travel by land, in squads, to the place of general rendezvous, at their own expense, or are transported in boats, put in requisition by his majesty's officers (the

French system is in perfection here, as every thing wanted for his majesty's service is impressed or put in a state of requisition without the smallest indemnification). Capt. Cox saw strings of these miserable recruits, boys under age, and decrepit old men, marching from Arracan to Amerapoorah: in particular at Pegaan, as he was coming down the river; they had been six weeks marching so far. Arracan was to furnish 3,000 men for the present war. Here another oppressive part of Birmah policy appears; men for the defence of the eastern frontier, are drafted from the west, those for the defence of the southern from the north, and *vice versa*, in order to secure their fidelity.

Should the number of recruits from any particular district fall short of the allotted *quota*, as is commonly the case, the deficiency must be commuted by fine, or is settled according to the interest of the Jugghiredaur at court.

Besides these, every town on the river, according to its size, is obliged to furnish a gilt or common war boat; to man, and keep it in constant readiness: of these it is supposed his majesty can muster from two to three hundred: they carry from 40 to 50 men each, and are, I think, the most respectable part of his force. They live chiefly by rapine, and are in a constant state of hostility with the rest of his people, which makes them audacious and prompt to execute any orders, however cruel or violent.

That you may form some idea of the force that can be furnished by the whole empire, I shall state what I more immediately know.

His majesty has been wrought on to believe, that the English meditate an attack on his country, and at the same time have planned an invasion of the Siamese dominions. To guard against us, and to afford his enterprise, may, of course, be supposed

to call for all the common resources of the country.

For the first of these services, it is said, that an army of ten thousand men are to march to guard Arracan; an army of the same force is to be assembled on the Assaman frontier, which, it is supposed, is another probable point of invasion; and 10,000 men are to be embodied and kept in constant readiness for the defence of Pegu and Yanghong.

For the second service, 20,000 men are to march against Jamai: but all these numbers, I have great reason to believe, are exaggerated. I shall confine my observations principally to the *quota* which is to be furnished by the southern provinces, of which I have more certain knowledge.

The southern *quota*, or 10,000 men, is to be furnished by the whole of the country to the southward of Prone, including both banks of the river down to the sea, Bassien, the islands formed by the mouths of the

Era Wuddey, Tonghou, Henzawuddy proper, Sittong, and Martaban, a tract composing the fairest and best provinces of the Birmah empire, and yet it is supposed they will not be able to procure from the whole more than 8,000 men, and not that number, without greatly distressing the inhabitants; hence may be formed some idea of the probable force of the whole empire; which, from every concurrent testimony, cannot, under its present administration, exceed 60,000 men.

About 6 or 7 years ago, when his majesty headed his army in person, against the Siamese, he had not more than forty thousand men: half of these never returned; and such are the effects of the desolating ambition and erroneous policy of this government, that the country has become, throughout the greatest part of its extent, a mere desert, and the wretched inhabitants, particularly the Peguvians, are daily emigrating to other countries.

Revenue.—This also was a delicate subject of inquiry, and owing to the Birmah propensity to fiction, particularly in exalting the opulence and resources of their country, I found it extremely difficult to obtain any accurate information.

It may be proper to premise, that notwithstanding the rapid declension of his majesty's real property, his personal wealth is ever accumulating, for his treasury is the Charybdis of the country, swallowing up every thing and returning nothing; and as he seized upon the accumulated treasures of his ancestors, at the revolution which placed him on the throne, and has amassed large sums from the confiscation of the property of the proscribed, which in the course of his reign has included every man of wealth or consideration in the country, he therefore must be one of the richest princes in India.

This prince provides for his children, supports his household, and his ministers,

&c. not by Tunkherahs on the revenue, but by direct grants of territory, privileges of markets, or of levying imposts, &c. In this manner he has granted away most of his patrimonial and acquired dominions.

His direct revenues arise from the tribute of the Chobwahs, tythe of the produce of the crown lands, mines, imports and exports.

His unsettled revenues arise from confiscations, escheats, fines, donations, &c. &c. Most of his revenues are collected in kind, stored in magazines, or converted into cash, according to circumstances. The tributes of the Chobwahs, and duties on some particular articles, as cotton, are paid in bullion.

It is almost in vain to form any conjecture of the whole amount: what I particularly know I shall state.

At Yanghong are two collectors, the *Ah-coo-whoon*, Baba Sheen for the land revenue; and the *Ah-coo-to-whoon*, Ihansay for imports

and exports. The first generally, remits annually for the whole province of Henzawuddy about 50,000 Tecals, T. S. or 62,500 Sicca Rupees: the latter, in favorable seasons, to the value of 150,000 Tecals flowered silver, or 187,500 Sicca Rupees. Tavoy yields an annual revenue of 30,000 Tecals F. S. and Mergui about 40,000 Tecals. From these examples, which I think may be relied on, if I may be allowed to hazard an opinion on so obscure a subject, I should suppose that his majesty's accumulating fund does not exceed fifteen Lacks of Rupees per annum.

History, Religion, and Laws.—The Birmahs derive their origin and name from Brumwha; are a branch of the *Palais*, known in India for their misfortunes and dispersion; their history, therefore, mythological, theological, and civil, is the same as that of the Hindoos, being derived from the same source: of this I have abundant proof in various tracts which I have collect-

ed, particularly the *Mahu-Bogdha-whein,** or the great history of their duties; and the *Maha-Raj-whein* the great history of their kings; of both which I have obtained perfect copies, and hope in time to have the honor of laying a translation before you. The oral accounts I have received of the present family, are perhaps more full, but vary so immaterially from what you must already know, that I shall postpone speaking of them at present.

The religion of the Birmahs is that of the younger Bhuddha or Bhaddhoo of the Hindoos, or the ninth incarnation of Vishnoo; but the Birmahs insist, that in his character of Weethandra, a prince or *Godomha-it,* is a tenth incarnation of the Divinity. The history of these ten incarnations is given in separate books, written in the Birmah character, but blended with the Palai language.

* Perhaps this is the same as the Hindoo Mug-dha-booh.

The elder Bhuddha, or Rama, the conqeror of Ceylon (which in the ancient Palai is also called *Dewi-Lanea*) they do not acknowledge as their legislator. His history, &c. is considered as heterodox, and merely read, as an amusing fable, by their bards or musicians. I have a copy of this history, it agrees with the Indian legend; but they call him *Yama*.

Of their Literature and Laws.—The ancient written law is called *Damasat:* it is the same as the Hindoo, and they have the Institutes of *Menu* under three titles; perhaps they are only varied comments. I have three perfect copies: the first is entitled *Mha-Nhee*, the second *Mewhee*, and the third *Mun-noo*. *Mha* signifies great, as in Shanscrit: if, therefore, Sir William Jones's translation was re-translated into the Birmah language, as mentioned by Captain Symes, it was an useless undertaking, and tends to shew their ignorance of their ancient records: indeed the

Dama-sat is very little attended to, every prince framing a new code when he comes to the throne, and every petty magistrate innovating at will.

GOVERNMENT.—It is an unlimited monarchy; all prescriptive rights, usages, life, liberty, and property, are prostrated at the feet of the despot; he assumes the prerogative, and exacts the same adoration as is paid to the Deity; his will is law, and his voice, fate.

His established privy council consists of four old men of approved wisdom and virtue who have retired from the bustle and intrigues of life: to these are added such of his other ministers, private or public, as he thinks proper. This council advises him on particular emergencies of state.

The general business of the state is transacted by the four *Whoonghees* (great lords) assisted by the four *Whoon-doicks*, (or lord-helpers) who have only a deliberative voice. It would be needless entering into a detail

of the subordinate officers. Besides the great public council, the king has a large establishment within the palace: at the head of these are the four *Ah-twa-whoons*, his private ministers, through whom all public reports pass for his decision; and through whom all the royal mandates pass to the *Lootcho,* or to individuals; their court or office is in the interior court of the palace, and called *Bea-tyke.* The four fronts of the fort, palace, Pagodas, and all religious buildings, face the four cardinal points of the compass: and all the officers of his majesty's several establishments are, or ought to be, in double pairs. Royal cities are governed by *Mew-Whoon* (Lord of the City,) *Yai-Whoon* (Lord of the Waters,) *Ah-coo-Whoon* (Lord of the Land Revenues,) *Ah-coo-to-Whoon* (Lord of Import and Export duties.) They are judges also in civil and criminal suits, and hold their court at the *Yhong* (or place of truth,) of which there is one in every city: *Yhong-Dho,* in strict-

ness, ought only to be applied to the Yhong of the palace, the adjunct *Dho* meaning the king's; but the term *Dho* is attached to many things and persons no ways entitled to it, through courtesy or the ignorance of strangers, as *Sherry-Dho-ghee*, the great king's writer, is applied to, or assumed by every petty clerk of a governor or tribunal.

Every great officer, civil or military, is a justice of peace; can try petty causes, and punish trespasses by flogging, fine, or imprisonment; for which purpose they all have tribunals and fire-rooms in their houses. This authority is also usurped by the lowest officers of the palace and courts, and is productive of infinite oppression and abuse. It may truly be said here, that there is no country where there is so much law, and so little justice: the only resource of the people is to inlist themselves under the banner of some great man, and submit to

his impositions in order to obtain protection from the rest.

Causes are originated in the Yhongs, but may be removed by appeal to the Lootcho, and ultimately to his majesty in council, where the decisions in general are pretty just, but the expense of obtaining a hearing, enormous.

Trials by ordeal, varying from those of India, are common.

I have only stated the regular system and proceedings of government, but the abuses are dreadful indeed; and I could detail such a narrative of enormities, as would excite commiseration in the most obdurate breast.

Characters.—The aptitude of mankind to form improper combinations, in opposition to the test of experience, is amongst the foremost of the perversions of reason. Sincerity is generally supposed to be banished from courts, and attached to rusticity; on the contrary, I think it will be

found that elegance of manners is friendly to elevation of sentiments; and boorishness the proper soil for sordid vices; and whoever has had experience of life will have found, that sincerity is not always the inmate of a cottage, or the concomitant of rusticity.

The Birmah court appears to me, an assembly of clowns, who have neither improved their manners or their sincerity by their transposition; they have retained their native chicane, and vicious propensities, and have not acquired the blandishments of polish to veil the deformities of vice, or expansion of mind to check its domination.

To their superiors the Birmahs are abjectly submissive; towards strangers audacious and ungrateful; in power rapacious and cruel; in war treacherous and ferocious; in their dealings litigious and faithless; in appetite insatiable and avaricious; in habit lazy; in their ideas, persons,

houses, and food, obscenely filthy, below any thing I have ever seen that has claims to humanity.

It must not be denied that they possess brutal courage; but it tends rather to debase than exalt them; it is irregular, uncertain, and not to be depended on. They are strict observers of the ceremonial parts of their religion; charitable to their priests and the poor; in the country, I am told, hospitable, and not vindictive; superstitious; addicted to magic; cheerful; patient under sufferings; hardy; frugal to penuriousness in their diet; and affectionate parents. They would make good soldiers in the hands of a skilful general; and perhaps, good subjects under a virtuous magistrate; but unhappily, their present goverment seems only calculated to exalt their vices, and depress their virtues.

ACCOUNT

OF THE STATES OF

RAJEPOOTANEH AND THE JAUTS.

TRANSLATED

FROM A M.S. IN THE POSSESSION OF GENERAL WILLIAM PALMER, LATE AMBASSADOR AT THE POONAH DARBA R.A. D. 1804.

THE goverment of *Ambeer* has existed for the space of 1100 years. During the period of 400 years the tribe of the Meenha ruled over that country; and the chiefs of Kuchvayah, who derive their origin from Rajah Ramchaud, the chain of whose lineage is still preserved entire, possessed the government of Nurwer. A quarrel arose between the brothers, one of whom, whose name was Buchoo, and whose father was a celebrated chieftain, went to Ambeer, and

took up his residence there. The governor of Ambeer received him with great courtesy and kindness, and allowed him a maintenance. When Buchoo had arrived at years of discretion he sent for his companions from Nurwer, and formed an alliance with other Rajepoots. As all the actions of that tribe are prompted by insincerity and perfidy, he engaged the whole of them in a conspiracy to murder the Meenha, that they might forcibly possess themselves of the government of Ambeer. For this purpose, having invited the Meenha to an entertainment, he plied them with a variety of liquors, which produced complete intoxication, and he then perpetrated the bloody deed.

The government of Ambeer being thus attained, he, by degrees, possessed himself of the remainder of those countries which formerly constituted the dominions of the Meenha. His authority became so great, that Pirthee Raje, then ruler of Delhi, ho-

noured him by bestowing on him his sister in marriage, and appointed him to quell the commotions in the kingdom of Asham, a country situated on the other side of Bengal. Buchoo having spent some time in that Zillah, reduced the rebels to subjection; after some time he returned to Delhi, and solemnly swore to Pirthee Raje not to engage any further in his affairs excepting in the event of a war with the Rajah of Kunooj. When in the five hundred and eighth year of the Hejree, Pirthee Raje resolved to visit Kunooj, in order to marry the daughter of Jychund, of whom he was secretly enamoured, the principal officers of his army, to the number of 116, accompanied him on the journey. Having arrived on the borders of Kunooj, and taken up their residence in a garden, they sent information of their approach to the daughter of the Rajah. Since the affection of Pirthee Raje and the daughter of Jychund was mutual, he deeming the night most favour-

able to his designs, took her up behind him and proceeded on the road to Delhi, and gave strict orders to his troops, that if the forces of Jychund should attempt to pursue him they should impede their progress so that he might enter Delhi in safety. They who were firm and unshaken in the field of battle, employed themselves in arranging their force. When Rajah Jychund was informed of what had passed, he was greatly perplexed, and resolved upon the destruction of Pirthee Raje; and assembling the commanders of his troops, he ordered them to seize Pirthee Raje and bring him into his presence. His officers preparing to execute the orders of Rajah Jychund resolved upon giving battle: with the greatest expedition they came up with the enemy; the troops left behind by Pirthee Raje, advancing one by one, engaged them; and they thus continued fighting till they came to the fort of Mooktysier, when Buchoo was slain bravely fighting; the greater part of

the rest also fell in the conflict; and sixteen men, all that remained, arrived at the capital. The troops of Rajah Jychund returned without succeeding in their design.

After the death of Buchoo his son also commanded a body of horse in the service of Pirthee Raje; and in short, all the tribe of the Kuchvayah beat the *non-but* upon their terraces, and were the strong props of the empire; particularly Rajah Man Singh, who during the reign of the Emperor Akbar was a chief celebrated for his bravery and enterprise. The following are the circumstances of his birth: his father obtained permission from King Babeer to proceed to Lahore, in order to suppress some plunderers who infested that quarter; and after having completed his purpose, was returning and had halted in a certain place; a person belonging to the tribe of the Rajepoots, who had left his residence, arrived, in the course of his travels, at a certain farm, when a woman, extremely ugly, who was employed in taking care of

the land, was shooting stones from a sling, and one of them happening to strike the forehead of the man, caused his death. The people when they saw what had happened, seized the woman and carried her to the army, and informed their chief of the circumstance. He ordered her to be brought into his presence. Certain astrologers, who were sitting in the company of the Rajah, examining the forehead of the woman, represented that her fate would be fortunate, and that from her womb would be born a child so courageous and enterprising that he would be worthy of sitting by the side of a monarch; and would be unequalled in fortitude and bravery, and would wash his sword in the waters of the ocean. The Rajah, who placed the greatest reliance on the predictions of the astrologers, was desirous of marrying the woman; her parents came before him and represented that his wishes did not meet with their approbation, but that if the Rajah would visit them and

accept of an entertainment they would betroth the girl to him. The Rajah consented, and entering the house of the Zemindar, performed the nuptial ceremonies. That same night the woman conceived, and in the ninth month she brought forth a son to whom the astrologers gave the name of Man Singh. The Rajah Man Singh after the decease of his father, when he was fifteen years of age, was introduced to the Emperor Akbur by Khankhanan Meer Buckshee; he was loaded with favours by his majesty; and in all the wars in which Akbur engaged, he attended upon him and faithfully discharged the duties of his office. The king, on account of his great abilities intrusted his negotiations with the Rajahs of Kotah and Bondee, and others, to his discretion. The conquest of Kundhar and the subjection of those provinces was effected solely by the management of Rajah Man Singh. Secondly, Being employed some time in the reduction of Bengal, he suc-

ceeded in extirpating and subduing the rebels. Thirdly, His majesty ordered Rajah Man Singh to bring the Killadar of Sitara, who from the commencement of his reign, had been rebellious, to a due sense of his duty and allegiance. The Rajah arriving in the neighbourhood of Sitara, sent a message to the Killadar, importing that if he valued his own safety he would immediately surrender, otherwise he must not be forgetful of the consequence. The Killadar, relying on the strength of the fortress, still persisted in his rebellion. Rajah Man Singh ordered the Meenha to bring him the turban of the Killadar that night; and added "if he does not awake from the sleep of forgetfulness, to-morrow I will send for his head." The Meenha, who were astonishingly skilful and intrepid, ascended the fortress during the night, and entering his chamber, seized his turban and returned the way they came; and going into the presence of Rajah Man Singh, informed him

of their success. When the Killadar awoke, not being able to find his turban, he was in the highest degree astonished; and while he was yet reflecting on the circumstance, one of the confidants of Rajah Man Singh appeared before him, with his turban, and delivered a message, importing, that even now he had it in his power to surrender; and that if he did not, his head would be sent for that night. The Killadar accompanied Rajah Man Singh to the court of his majesty, and having made his obeisance, returned; Rajah Man Singh also, taking his leave, went to Ajmeer. At that time an ambassador arrived in order to learn the state of the kingdom: his majesty sent an order to Rajah Man Singh, desiring him to impress the mind of the ambassador with a high idea of the courage of the Rajepoots. The Rajah went to the hoot of Amasakir, which joins Ajmeer; and sent also for the ambassador: he, designedly, threw his handkerchief into the water, and hav-

ing secretly made a sign to the Rajepoots who stood around him clad in armour, one or two thousand of them plunged into the hoot, regardless of the danger they incurred, and brought the handkerchief on shore; many of them were drowned. The ambassador was struck with astonishment, that this chief should have sacrificed so many lives on so trifling an occasion, and wisely considered that it would be impossible to conquer the kingdoms of Hindoostan. After a few days the ambassador went to the court of the king, and represented to his august majesty the warlike dispositions of those men who attended upon Rajah Man Singh. His majesty, as a reward for this important service, sent the Rajah a precious robe of honour.

Rajah Jugut Singh, the son of Rajah Man Singh, whose mother being offended, resided without the precincts of the palace, one day asked her, on what account the Rajah had driven her from the palace;

" Tell me truly," he added, " or I will slay you." She replied, " It was not for any fault of mine; the Rajah one day made use of some improper expressions which displeased me." Jugut Singh went to his father, and desired permission to go into the presence of the king. The Rajah said, " Will you not obtain for me the Pattah of Nagour? And what will you do then?" Jugut Singh, taking his leave, departed. After some time he arrived at the court, and as his majesty had a high idea of the authority and dignity of Rajah Man Singh, he honoured his son with costly presents. About that time a freebooter began to create disturbances. Jugut Singh, who was very desirous of distinguishing himself, undertook to reduce him to obedience. And notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the king, he would not be diverted from his purpose. After several marches he came up with the plunderer, and having vanquished him, returned to the royal

court, attended with success and victory. He was received by his majesty with every honour, and received a promise that, whatever he asked should be granted him. He humbly represented, that under the auspices of the royal favour, the only wish he had to gratify was, that he might be honoured with the Puttah of Nagour. His majesty granted his request, and having conferred many other favours upon him, he dismissed him. When Rajah Man Singh was informed of these transactions, he advanced two stages in order to meet his son, and conveying him home, loaded him with caresses, and intrusted him with all his affairs.

After the death of Rajah Man Singh, Rajah Jugut Singh was invested with the dignity of the Rajahship. He was very attentive in performing the duties of his office during the reign of Akbur and Jehangheer; so that the arrangement of affairs in the Soubah of Augen was in-

trusted to him; and distinguished honours were bestowed upon him. Ram Singh the son of Rajah Jugut Singh, who lived in the reign of Shah Jehan was excessively addicted to debauchery; otherwise he was not neglectful of his duty; yet he seldom attended the court of the king; as, however, the different Soubahs during the government of Shah Jehan, enjoyed peace and tranquillity, diligence and vigilance were not peculiarly requisite. After his death, Rajah Jye Singh, the eldest son of Rajah Ram Singh, arriving in the city of Shan Jehanabad, had the honour of attending upon his majesty, and obtaining the title of Neerza a Rajah, in addition to that of Jye Singh, and was loaded with royal favours. He repaired the cities of Akburabad and Delhi, and other places in the empire also bear his name, as the Amuldaree of them remained in the hands of his servants. During the reign of Shah Jehan, Rajah Jye Singh departed not from

his duty; but in the reign of Aurungzebe, who was jealous of the great power and influence possessed by the Rajahs, he committed several acts of rebellion. The king, however, being engaged in giving tranquillity to his empire; in reducing other rebels to subjection, and in defeating the schemes of, and seizing his brothers, winked at the conduct of the Rajah. When he had obtained repose from the tumults created by his brothers and other factious rebels, he determined to enter the Dukeen. But he resolved first of all to watch the motions of Rajah Jye Singh, and the Rajah of Oodiepore. Both the Rajahs being seized with a panic at the approach of the royal army, fled to the mountains of Julhseen, and carried with them thither their riches and effects. The army arriving in Ambeer, astonished the royal Shanahs, and there also they erected a mosque as a mark of the true faith. When Aurungzebe went to the Dukeen,

and had spent several years in that Zillah, the Rajepoots began to put themselves in motion, and created disturbance, Singhran Singh, the chief of Ludhanah, (which is situated ten Kro from Jyepoor) entered Ambeer one morning, and slaying the Thanahs, placed there by the royal army, seized the chief authority himself, and removed all the Amuldaree of the king from the places dependant upon Ambeer. The governors of the Soobah, of the capital, and Akburabad had not strength sufficient to oppose him. After a short time the two Rajahs left their retreats in the mountains of Juhseen, and went to Oodiepoor and Ambeer, and again, through the mediation of the Meer Buckshee, they returned to a sense of their allegiance, and under the direction of the governors of the kingdom, they distinguished themselves by many important services.

When, by the decree of God, Rajah Jye Singh died, Bishoon Singh his son suc-

ceeded to the government, and having spent some time in arranging his domestic affairs, he departed for the Dukeen; and having made his obeisance to the king, was honoured by the royal favour. He remained in the Dukeen one year; and when his majesty resolved to return towards Hindoostan, he dismissed the Rajah, that he might afford his assistance to the governors of the different Soobahs of that country. He most commonly resided in Muthra, and pursued the line of conduct pointed out to him by the governors.

At length, in the year 1114 of the Hejree, the above-mentioned Rajah departed this life, and Rajah Jye Singh was established in the Raj. His brother, whose name was Chumoon, through the envy and hatred he had conceived against his government, resolved to go to the king in the Dukeen, turn Mussulman, and betroth his sister to the prince; in consequence of this determination, he first

sent one of his confidants to the royal court, and prepared to depart himself. Rajah Jye Singh being greatly perplexed, held a consultation with some of his confidential friends. Ausop Singh, the chief of Beli Kheereeh, said, "I will go to the royal presence, in order to settle your affairs; if his majesty attends to my representation, good; but if otherwise, I will fly to arms." When Chumoon understood that this great chief was going to the court, he wisely conjectured, that what he himself might say would be of no avail, and thought it incumbent upon him to give satisfaction to Rajah Jye Singh, as he had numerous troops under his command. He therefore desisted from his designs, and rested content with the station allotted him. Rajah Jye Singh, at length finding himself extricated from his difficulties, made all the neighbouring Rajahs his friends, by his urbanity and conciliating manners; and employed himself in re-

pairing Jyepoor and other delightful places; and appropriated a fourth part of the revenues of the kingdom to charitable purposes. He also allowed a maintenance to the inhabitants of Muthra and Bindrabun and other places of worship belonging to the Hindoos. And collecting together astrologers from Benares and Kushmeer and other places, he prepared a Junteer. After the death of Alumgheer, he made his obeisance once only to Buhadur Shah, and never after attended upon him. He, however, continued to accommodate himself to the will of his majesty. One hundred thousand horsemen were under his command. During the reign of Mohammed Shah, the Soobah of Akburabad was given him in addition to that of Oujeen. But the Ameers of the court were dissatisfied with him. As Rajah Jye Singh was well assured that they were ever watching for an opportunity to disgrace him, he sent, in the year 1150, for Bajee Rao from the

Dukeen to Hindoostan, and caused the country in the vicinity of the capital to be plundered; the Mahrattas besieged Delhi during the space of four days, and a bloody battle ensued. Nabob Humroodeen Khaun, who resided in Akburabad, putting himself in motion, pitched his camp in Radha-Koond, which is situated near to Guvurdeehun, and arrived the same day in the capital. Bajee Rao, before the arrival of the Nabob, decamped with expedition. The Mahrattas seized the Soobah of Oujein from Rajah Jye Singh, as a Chout hee.

The tribe of Soorjmull Jat acquired their authority through the means of Rajah Jye Singh; for going twice to Deek, he laid the foundations of the fortress of Deek and Bhurt Poor; notwithstanding the Jats were continually creating disturbances, and Rajah Jye Singh received repeated orders to suppress them, he wrote back excuses, and determined not to engage in that affair.

In the war with Nadir Shah, when his

majesty Mohammed Shah in the year 1153 of the Hijree ordered all his troops to march, Kirparam with 7000 horse, on the part of the Rajah, joined them, and together with Khandoram Meer Buckshee, shewed great activity during the war; in fine, Kirparam always accompanied the king after the return of Nadir Shah. Rajah Jye Singh went to Mundsoor in order to chastise the Mahrattas who were near Oujein, and the places dependant upon the Soobah of Malva; and having repulsed them, he returned; but the Mahrattas continued to infest those quarters every year, and they were never freed from their incursions. The following is a true account of the war which took place between Abhy Singh, the chief of Mawar, and Rajah Jye Singh. Abhy Singh had married the daughter of Rajah Jye Singh, but paid too little respect to her rank; she complained of her husband in a letter to her father: Rajah Jye Singh sent some of his confidential friends, and

informed Abhy Singh of this circumstance; he paid no attention to the remonstrance of the Rajah, and treated his letter with contempt. The Rajah seeing no remedy, led his army towards Judupore. Abhy Singh also assembled his troops, and wrote to Bukht Singh his brother, requesting him to come to his assistance. Bukht Singh joined his brother, and with a troop of 5000 horse, all that were under his command, prepared for battle, at the distance of ten Kro from Judupoor. He bravely attacked the army of Rajah Jye Singh, and broke through their ranks. Rajah Jye Singh had ordered his troops not to injure Bukht Singh, yet 500 horse only remained to him; the rest were slain, and victory declared for Rajah Jye Singh. Abhy Singh humbly demanded peace, and this being the only object of Rajah Jye Singh, he withdrew his force, and went to Ambeer and Jyepoor.

In the year 1158 of the Hijree, Rajah

Jye Singh died, at the age of 57 years, of a disease which disjoined all his limbs one from another. Rajah Ashree Singh succeeded to the government, and proceeded to the capital, in order to make his obeisance to the king. In the mean while, Rajah Ajeet Singh, the chief of Oodeipoor, in order to give protection to Madhoo Singh, his nephew by a sister, and who had been brought up in Oodeipoor, having collected 50,000 horse, put himself in motion, with the intention of seizing Jyepoor, and placing Madhoo Singh upon the Musnud of the Rajah. When these transactions reached the ears of Ashree Singh, he sent Rajah Amaull to the Dukeen in order to request the assistance of the Mahrattas; and also implored succour from his majesty. The forces of the Dukeen came to his aid, and his majesty appointed Moseinool-Molk, the son of Kumroodien Khaun, to afford them assistance. As Ashree Singh had collected

more than 100,000 horse, Ajeet* Singh having made peace, returned. Rajah Ashree Singh taking the Mahrattas with him, went to Kotah and Boodee, and taking 2,500,000 Rupees (25 Lack) from the Rajahs of those places, he gave them to the Mahrattas. The government soon obtained its former tranquillity.† But as some unworthy men had been taken into employ, the great chiefs of the Rajepoots conceived a secret dislike against the Rajah: the following circumstances produced another war. Roa Ram Singh, the son of Abhy Singh, had married the daughter of Ashree Singh; the chiefs tore him away from his residence, and placed Bukht Singh at the head of the government. Ram Singh fled, and wrote to Ashree Singh, demanding his assistance; he returned for answer, that he would give him Sambhur; Ram Singh

* In the original it is Jugut Singh. Evidently a mistake.

† I doubt the correctness of this translation.

refused it, and desisted from imploring aid from him. Rajah Ashree Singh sent Keesoo Doss, the son of Rajah Amamul, to the Dukeen, and demanded some forces, and appropriated 50 Lacks of Rupees for this affair. When the Mahrattas had joined him, he ordered his forces to march, and went to Judupoor and besieged that city. Bukht Singh narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. When the Mahrattas demanded money from Keesoo Doss, he informed Ram Singh of it, who answered, that, in fact, he had not the money by him, and that after the affairs were settled, he would satisfy them. Keesoo Doss made use of some harsh expressions, and Ram Singh went to Ashree Singh, and complained of his conduct. He was highly displeased, and sending for Keesoo Doss, placed a cup of poison before him, and commanded him to drink it. He replied, " Although I may have been guilty of negligence in my duty to you,

yet I am surely worthy of being pardoned; and since I am innocent, such conduct as this towards me is very unworthy of you." The Rajah answered, "Your safety depends upon your drinking the cup." Keesoo Doss being without remedy, swallowed the poison. Keesoo Doss wore a ring, the property of which was to prevent the poison taking effect. A camel driver, whose name was Khanoon, informed the Rajah of this circumstance; who ordered that he should be dispatched with a dagger; which was accordingly done. When the Mahrattas heard of this, they retreated, and sent a message to Ashree Singh, importing, that the following year they would treat him in the same manner; and advised him not to forget their threats. Ashree Singh also marched to Jyepoor. At that period Ahmud Shah having succeeded to the throne, after the death of Mohammed Shah; and in the same year having marched towards Lahore, in order to give battle

to the king of Abdal, Ashree Singh, with a proper number of forces, formed the vanguard of the royal troops. There many fierce engagements took place with Ahmud Shah Doorrance; and although the king of Abdal was at first victorious, yet, by the decrees of God, he was at length defeated. Ashree Singh having received information of the disordered state of his dominions, and also, that several of the Ameers of the court had revolted from their allegiance, secretly fled and arrived at Jyepoor. The Mahrattas, who thirsted after vengeance, pursued him thither. Ashree Singh implored the great chiefs to afford him assistance; they answered that the counsellors he had with him were sufficient to repulse the Mahrattas; "What have we to do with you," they added, "you must act according to your own judgment; yet, if you will pitch your camp without the walls, and firmly prosecute your enterprises, we are ready to assist you." As the Rajah was

hemmed in on all sides with difficulties, and saw that his friends abandoned him, he swallowed poison and died.

Mulhar and others invited Rajah Madhoo Singh from Oodeipore; and Mulhar and Madhoo Singh being mounted on the same elephant, entered Jyepoor, where the authority of the Rajah was proclaimed aloud. When the Rajah was firmly established in the possession of his dominions, Mulhar having taken several Lacks of Rupees on account of his services, departed, and left an officer with about six or seven thousand horse in the province of Jyepoor to secure the residue of the revenue. As the Mahrattas used to mount their horses every day, and enter the city, where they created disturbances, the Rajepoots put three or four thousand of their horsemen to death; and Madhoo Singh having arrived at the royal residence and paid his obedience to Ahmud Shah, endeavoured to put a stop to the troubles occassioned by the mutual disputes

of the nobles of the court, and then returned to Jyepoor. The fortress of Yulethoor, which is a central situation, and matchless for strength, had unexpectedly fallen into his hands in the following manner. Mulhar Row observing the Mahratta government had for six years been besieging the place; after suffering many difficulties, and after much deliberation when Ram-dokt, who had arrived there with the title of Commandant, had given battle, and had been slain, the king's commandant reflected, that as his provisions were expended, the Mahrattas would, in the course of a year or two, take the fort; so, seeing no other remedy, he surrendered it to Madhoo Singh. Rajah Jye Singh for some time entertained the ridiculous design of taking it, but not being able to accomplish his purpose, he endeavoured to gain a view of the fort from a distance, and erected for that purpose, a building on the top of a hill, on the Khundhar side, which cost him

many Lacks: but he could not see it even from that. Madhoo Singh, likewise there built Madhoo Linlass, and seven old commandants were appointed to take charge of the fort. Madhoo Singh passed his life in enjoyment and tranquillity; nor was he molested by disputes and wars, excepting a battle with Rajah Juvahur Singh, the son of Soorjmull Jaut, who had commenced the quarrel, and over whom he was victorious. After the death of Madhoo Singh, the Musnud was filled by his eldest son Pirthee Singh. This enterprising and ambitious prince died after a reign of three years, in consequence of a mistake in eating some drug; and the succession devolved upon Purtab Singh. He commenced his government with vigorous measures, and attended personally to all public business. When Abdoolahud Khawn took the king from his imperial residence towards Jyepoor, Rajah Purtab Singh determined to repair to the august presence. Abdoolahud

Khawn was desirous that the Rajah should at all events do obeisance through his means; but he would not leave his place of abode till Meerja Nujuf Khawn came. Upon his arrival, he paid his homage to the king and returned to Jyepoor. A short time after, his affairs called Row Rajah Purtab Singh to Rajghur. The fort was near being evacuated, and the Row upon the point of being made a prisoner, when, fortunately, Ramdewan interceded for him, and enabled him to return to Jyepoor. By the bounty of God, he possesses an extensive dominion; but his vassals, having never felt a proper check, collect the whole revenue of their lands, for which they make no return. Should the Rajah quit Jyepoor, fifty or sixty thousand horse and foot would assemble even now; but as he is entirely given up to pleasure, and his courtiers are of the same disposition, he attends very little to the regulation of his affairs. Row Rajah Purtab Singh was formerly in the

service of the Rajah's family, and had the village Manchuree assigned him as the pay of three or four horsemen. After the death of Madhoo Singh, who had made this provision for him, and had honoured him with his friendship, he became possessed of all the station in Jyepoor. And having built forts in all places, he was safe and secure from danger: and has now a country which yields a revenue of thirty Lacks of Rupees. In the same manner, other landholders have raised themselves to equal power and authority.

A HISTORY OF THE CHIEFS OF JUDUPOOR.

AS their government is very ancient, we are acquainted with a small part of their history only, which is as follows:—

In the reign of Juhangeer Badshah, Rajah Kuj Singh was governor of Marvan, and was a powerful and noble prince. Kuj Singh being killed in an expedition against Gujerat, his son, Amur Singh, experienced the bounty of his majesty Shah Juhan. As his mind was bold, and he was unequalled in valour and strength, on whatsoever side he turned, all things submitted to him. He displayed all the deliberation and coolness that is necessary, and in battle never turned his back. When Shah Juhan held his court at Akburabad, Rajah Amur Singh attended the august presence, and to him were consigned the duties of the imperial

guard. When his marriage was celebrated, he was a week absent from his post, which time he past at his own house in merriment and ease. Sulatent Khawn Meer Buckshee, who was at enmity with him, said, in the royal presence, 'This Hindoo's head is filled with pride, and he attends not to his duty: if it be your royal will, I will this day punish him, and exact seven Lacks of Rupees as a fine for his absence." His friends conveyed intelligence of this circumstance to Rajah Amur Singh. As he was an unparalleled soldier, he felt his honour hurt; he had been sleeping, but instantly rising from his bed, he snatched up his shield, sword, and dirk, and directed his steps towards the royal presence, whither he arrived, after passing through the Bocara gate. Sulatent Khawn Meer Buckshee said to the Rajah, " Where have you been for this week past. I shall exact seven Lacks of Rupees as a fine for your absence; and have no consideration for a

peasant like you." The wrath of Rajah Amur Singh was kindled, and drawing his dirk, he plunged it into the body of the Meer Buckshee, which having pierced him from side to side, entered a stone pillar. The king, who was sitting at a lattice, arose and went to the state chamber. When Amur Singh came out, and the circumstance was known throughout the fort, the people rushed from all quarters, but no one was able to cope with him. Arjoon Gore, a chief of Boondee, who was also appointed to the royal guard, falling at his feet, drew his sword. Amur Singh wounded him with his dirk, but was himself slain; and five of Amur Singh's companions having evinced great valour and intrepidity, likewise paid the debt of soldiers. From that day the Bocara gate has been closed, and it was ordained that it should not be opened until some one should appear of equal courage. His nephew, the son of Jervant Singh, having carried off his corpse,

assembled on the following morning all the relatives and dependants of the deceased, and departed with them for Judupoor; nor did any of the king's nobles attempt to pursue them. A short time after, Jervant Singh repaired to the august presence, with a view of taking revenge for his brother's death; but the courtiers having explained circumstances to him, quelled his rage, and then brought him into the royal presence. As he was a man of pride, and the greatest independence, he bent not his neck in obedience, like the other nobles, but behaved with the usual ignorance of the Rajepoots. The king, however, winked at his conduct. He was engaged in three battles with Ouringzaib, that is, Alumgeer, in which he neglected none of the rules nor stratagems of war; but as the prince's fortune was triumphant, he was vanquished in every conflict. When he perceived that Alumgeer was on all occasions victorious, he paid him implicit obedience. After his

death, his son Ajeet Singh became Lord of Marvar, and also retained the grant of the province of Gujerat. He was always attended by an army of twenty thousand horse, who were ever unanimous. When in the days of Turroc Seen, Hussun Ally Khawn demanded a damsel from the Rajah, he refused, and girt his loins with the girdle of contention. The Syyuds, who, proud of their dominion and wealth, their rank and splendour, paid no regard to any one, marched to chastise the haughty Ajeet Singh. As Rajah Jye Singh, who was on terms of friendship with him, failed to join him on this occasion, the Syyuds, after some delays and trouble, gained a complete victory, and brought the Rajah to court, whence of their own accord they dismissed him for Judupoor. In the reign of Mohammed Shah, Ubhee Singh, who is also called Dhokul Singh, was present at the royal court. As he was at enmity with his father, Ajeet Singh, he wrote to his brother, Burut Singh,

bidding him put Ajeet Singh to death, who, entering his sleeping-room, dispatched him with one stab of his dagger. The other chiefs were much displeased with this conduct; but as he was the Rajah's son, they did not think it proper to take revenge. Burut Singh, in justification of his conduct, produced his brother's letter, saying, "it was this led me to commit the deed." Ubhee Singh, having in the royal presence been clothed in the mantle of investiture, arrived at Judŭpoor. In a few days a quarrel arose between Burut Singh and Ubhee Singh; but the former knowing that to contend with his brother was then out of his power, waited till a favourable opportunity should offer, and contented himself in the meantime with a small territory. Rajah Ubhee Singh had espoused the daughter of Jye Singh; but having taken a dislike to her, he removed her from his sight: upon this she dispatched a letter to her father, who immediately sent some of his confiden-

tial courtiers to remonstrate with Ubhee Singh; but it had no effect upon him. Rajah Jye Singh upon this assembled an army of a hundred thousand horse, and marched towards Judupoor, with the determination of attacking Ubhee Singh, who wrote to Burut Singh, saying, "If you will now be reconciled to me, I shall be happy; for otherwise I cannot oppose Jye Singh." Burut Singh stopped not to deliberate upon giving his consent, but marching with five thousand horse, reached Judupoor, where he waited not for a junction or interview with his brother, but came in front of Jye Singh's army. Upon the first attack he routed the cavalry, and penetrated from the van to the main body. Rajah Jye Singh had given positive orders to his troops not to use their arms against Burut Singh, but to kill as many of his followers as they met. Although Rajah Burut Singh spread confusion through the army of Rajah Jye Singh, yet, as he had but a small force with him, he

was not able to carry his point, and having lost the battle, he retreated to Judupoor. Ubhee Singh having submitted to Rajah Jye Singh, the latter struck his tents and departed. Upon the death of Ubhee Singh, his son Row Ram Singh did not gain possession of the government of Marvar; for shortly after, the principal men drove him out of Judupoor, and having sent for Burut Singh, placed the mark of sovereignty on his forehead. They likewise sent word to Ram Singh, that, if a pension of two or three Lacks of Rupees would content him, it should be given him; but that if not, he was at liberty to go where he pleased. The Row was full of rage, and gave no answer, but withdrawing, wrote to Zisnee Singh, the son of Rajah Jye Singh, "that the principal men had behaved ill to him, and that he expected him to punish them;" he likewise offered him Sanbuhur and some other districts, which he refused. Zisnee Singh had no other remedy but to make an

attempt upon Judupoor and Alkar: he dispatched Keesoo Doss to bring the Mahrattas from the Dukeen; and upon the arrival of their troops, marched for Judupoor. The Mahrattas laid siege to the place, and were upon the point of carrying it, when one day that Keesoo Doss was importuning Ram Singh for money for the Mahrattas, he was killed by Zisnee Singh. When the Mahrattas heard this, they returned to the Dukeen; but told Zisnee Singh, before their departure, that he should that year be extirpated. Burut Singh was formally established in the government of Judupoor, and Row Ram Singh passed his days in slothful obscurity. After the death of Rajah Burut Singh, his son, Rajah Bujy Singh, succeeded to the possession of his wealth and dominions. He paid such attention to the management of his affairs, that while he lived, confusion and distress were removed from his kingdom. His territories were of great extent, but as they are now

in the hands of a woman, the revenue is much decreased. There were always ten thousand Ratthores in attendance upon the Rajah, who were prepared for any service; and in case of war, ten thousand more flocked to his standard. These Ratthores are a very warlike tribe, who think nothing of the loss of life or the risk of their heads in the day of battle. As Rajah Burut Singh had been an attentive observer of all the religious tenets of the Hindoos, he had strictly forbidden any of his people to hunt. When Rajah Juvahur Singh, the son of Soorjmull, set out to bathe in the tank which is about two leagues beyond Ajmeer, and had reached the destined spot, Bujy Singh went from Judupoor to meet him, upon which occasion the two chiefs made a mutual exchange of turbans. Bujy Singh proposed to Juvahur Singh to bear him company on his march, but his offer was declined. After the arrival of Maha Row Sindia Buhadur, the Ratchores and Rajepoots,

who had united, prepared to give him battle; there were thirteen thousand Ratchores subject to and followers of the chief of Jyepoor. The next time that the Maha Rajah Buhadur, of exalted rank, came to that country, Gopaul Row, who commanded his army, marched forward to a place where Lineshee-beem-raj was stationed. The Buckshee, in consequence of an order from Rajah Jye Singh, struck his tents and moved off; but Suvah Ram, one of the leaders who had distributed saffron-coloured clothes among his troops, scorned to retreat, and determined to meet Gopaul Buckshee's army, which he did, and repulsed them: in pushing on he reaped Kyyou, whence he became food for the lightning of death, and his followers reaped the harvest of renown in that field. As Gopaul Row had been victorious in the action, Rajah Bujy Singh took steps to oppose him. When Rajah Bujy Singh resigned his soul into the hands of his Creator, his grandson,

Beekum Singh, took charge of the government; and his son, whom he had expelled, having collected troops, made three attacks upon Judupoor; but failing in them, took up his residence at Jyepoor. And Beekum Singh is now the centre of all power and authority in those dominions. Although, with Jyepoor and Alhah, he possesses an extensive territory, yet all is waste and desolate, from want of water and proper cultivation.

HISTORY OF THE JAUTS.

IT is related of the genealogy of the ancestors of Maha Rajah Runjeet Singh, and of their rise and progress, that, in former times, the Jauts, a Jadoon tribe, inhabited the land of Byanah, and were masters of the soil. When Aboo Bukr conquered Kandohar, which had been in their possession for 600 years, they became Zemindars,

and lost much of their former wealth and grandeur. Having quitted their ancient place of residence in the latter part of Shah Jehan's reign, they settled in the villages adjoining his capital, and continued to exercise the profession of Zemindars, Zorawur Singh excepted, who being a man of daring spirit, raised an insurrection during the convulsed state of the empire, and collecting together a body of troops at the time Alumgeer was in the Decan, put to death Lall Beg and Kooshal Beg, two of his Jaghirdars, and carried off a booty of one hundred horses, besides money and other effects. A long period elapsed before his majesty was able to take revenge. Zorawur Singh continued to carry on his depredations to a greater degree, and plundered the caravans of Akburabad and Shah Juhanabad. Having constructed a fort on the confines of Sarscen, he made it the place of his retreat in time of danger. The Nazim of the Soobah of Akburabad wrote an account of

these circumstances to the king, and requested to be furnished with ten Lacks of Rupees, to enable him to proceed in a business of such importance. His majesty issued an order to Keelecan Row and his other generals to take Sorseeny; but although they were engaged in this affair for a considerable time, they met with no success, and matters grew worse every day: at length the prince Beedar Bukht received a royal order, that he should reduce Sorseeny, and return again to the presence. His highness the prince invested the place for three or four months, and Zorawar Singh, finding his treasure exhausted, delivered himself up. The prince carried him with him to the Decan, where his majesty Aurungzebe caused him to be blown from the mouth of a cannon.

The Jauts, upon seeing themselves deprived of a leader, immediately resolved to appoint another, that their affairs might not fall into confusion; and having con-

sulted upon the subject, fixed upon Rajah Ram, to whom they took oaths of fidelity and submission. Rajah Ram, after the death of Alumgeer, led a predatory life, and plundered alone Koojah and many other places. At that time there was no king upon the throne, and the princes of the blood were waging war with one another. In the course of a few weeks Rajah Ram was slain in Mewas. The Jauts chose Choramun to succeed him in command, who, increasing his power and forces, engaged himself to serve with Kosurlee Khawn and and Abdoolla Khawn. Upon the destruction of these two Syyuds, two Lacks of gold Mohurs fell into the hands of Choramun. Rajah Jye Singh, who had been sent by the king's orders to reduce him, finding himself unable to cope with him, desisted from the attempt. Upon Choramun's decease, his son, Mohkum Singh, succeeded him, and maintaining the possession of all his places, acknowledged none as his superior. When

the royal army, commanded by Neelkuth, marched from the capital, and had arrived in the vicinity of Houdul, Mohkum Singh, gave them battle. Neelkuth being killed in the commencement of the action, his army found themselves unable to maintain the contest, and took to flight. Mohkum Singh obtained a complete victory, and much valuable booty fell into his hands.

Budun Singh, the son of Bhow Singh, the grandson of Burj Singh, was at that time master of Dekh; and the rest of his tribe were under his command. Mohkum Singh was displeased with the haughtiness he assumed in his government, and finding a proper opportunity after having made him a prisoner, reproached him with great harshness. His friends expostulated with him, and said that he should not show such cruel treatment to Budun Singh; and that it would be more adviseable to release him from his confinement. Mohkum Singh replied, that, should he give him his liberty, he would

himself be left in uncertainty and apprehension of his motions. At length he was persuaded to liberate Budun Singh, who, taking advantage of his liberty, went with the party he had along with him, to Rajah Jye Singh, and gaining him over to his side, prepared to take vengeance on Mohkum Singh. For a considerable time Mohkum Singh was engaged with them in Tohevun, but being defeated at last, he was taken prisoner alive. Rajah Jye Singh, besides the territories in possession of Budun Singh, bestowed upon him the Soobadary of Akburabad, and appointed him also Naib over his own Soobahs. By degrees his power rose to his utmost wishes, and he received from the king the title of Radhar Khawn. Upon the death of Rajah Jye Singh, Budun Singh continued to serve Eysun Singh with fidelity, and for a considerable time dwelt with his own son, Soorj Mull, in Jyepoor. Rajah Eysun Singh obtained a grant of Mavat from the Emperor Mohammed Shah, for

one Lack and forty thousand Rupees, on account of Budun Singh. Soorj Mull being an able and aspiring man, Budun Singh appointed him his successor; and he himself interfered very little further in matters of state.—The rise of the Jauts owes its beginning to the family of Jye Singh; and the Rajah of Jyepoor made them the guard of their frontier: the construction of the forts of Deeg and Comair, was also entirely owing to the advice and instigation of Rajah Jye Singh. The first engagement Soorj Mull had, was with Salabut Khawn Meer Buckshee, who had marched from the capital with a body of 30,000 horse and foot, with the intention of making himself master of Mewat and other places belonging to Soorj Mull. Immediately upon his being informed of this, he resolved to give Salabut Khawn battle, and requested Budun Singh's permission. However much Budun Singh wished to dissuade him, he would not listen to his arguments, but set out several stages

to meet the Meer Buckshee. Soorj Mull had along with him 2000 well-disciplined cavalry, and the day the action commenced, whilst he was standing in the plain about the distance of a Kro from the enemy's army, Hakeem Khawn, Rustum Khawn, and Futteh Ali Khawn advanced from the main body with 5 or 6000 horse and foot and some artillery in front, and called contemptuously aloud to catch the Hindoo in *the string of a bow*, Soorj Mull had formed his troops into four divisions, who each in their turn gave fire, and then fell back. Hakeem Khawn and Rustum Khawn received shots in their breast and were killed; and Futteh Ali Khawn fled from the plain. This event distressed Salabut Khawn the Meer Buckshee, exceedingly; and remaining awake all the night, he kept up a strict guard, and ordered a night attack to be made. Bukht Singh the father of Bajee Singh acting as a mediator between the parties, brought about a peace; but the victory

which Soorj Mull had obtained, elevated him much. In the course of a few days Soorj Mull's force was increased to the number of 7000 horse and foot; he held a conference with Bukht Singh at a place called Rievaree, Bukht Singh first coming to the tent of Soorj Mull, and then he and Juwaher Singh going to the tent of Bukht Singh—Bukht Singh taking Salabut Khawn along with him, went to Marwar; Soorj Mull accompanied them several stages, and then taking his leave, returned to his own country, on account of some approaching nuptials. Soon after, Soorj Mull conceived the design of expelling Futteh Ali Khawn, the son of Sabit Khawn, chief of Coel; upon which, Futteh Ali Khawn demanded an army from the capital to his assistance. Accordingly a considerable army was dispatched; but before they arrived, Soorj Mull had accomplished the destruction of Futteh Ali Khawn, and taken possession of his treasure and artillery.—

Although the nobles of the court were highly enraged at this proceeding, and instigated the king to take revenge, nothing farther took place, owing to the Navaub Buhadoor being the friend and patron of the Jauts. Soorj Mull sent his son Jewaher Singh to the capital to wait on Buhadoor Singh. The Navaub appointed him a daily allowance of 2000 Rupees; and took him into the king's service. The king also received him with kindness, and conferred upon him a Noubut. Soorj Mull now entered into the service of Navaub Sufdur Jung, who intrusted him with the management of all his affairs. When Mulhar Row approached Doulpore, Navaub Buhadoor observed that the Mahrattas would certainly give battle to Soorj Mull; and that it would not be in his power to assist him; but that no harm should befal Jewaher Singh, whom he should take care to protect. The Vakeels having written an account of these circumstances to Soorj Mull, he re-

called his son from Navaub Buhadoor and made up matters with the Mahrattas. Upon Mulhar returning home, Rajah Buhadoor Singh, chief of Ghaseer, wrote to him, that if he would come back and attack Soorj Mull, he himself would form the van of his army. Mulhar did not return, but postponed his entrance into Hindostaun until the ensuing year. Soorj Mull wrote to his agent along with Mulhar to send him an explicit account, whether the army of the Decan were to come that year into Hindostaun, for that he had a particular business in agitation. The agent returned him answer, that he might with all confidence engage in whatever plans he had in view. It so happened, that the chief of Ghaseer had arrived at Muthra, and was proceeding to his own territories; Soorj Mull pursued him, but he reached his fort before the 4th Ghuree: upon this, Soorj Mull surrounded the place, and by the means of Navaub Munsoor Ali Khawn, obtained from the king per-

mission to attack him. In the space of four months Ghaseer was reduced, and the commander there slain. Soorj Mull having put all his places in a state of order, returned to the capital, and held a meeting with the Sufdur Jung, who showed him great favour. An enmity having arisen between Navaub Sufdur Jung and Navaub Buhadoor, the former proposed a scheme to Soorj Mull, to put the latter to death, under the pretext of inviting him to a banquet. Soorj Mull also concurred in the plan. On a certain day, Navaub Sufdur Jung prepared an entertainment for Navaub Buhadoor, and invited him to the house of Ali Murd Khawn. Soorj Mull, with a thousand followers, took a proper station, and drew up the rest of the troops by the river side, under the pretence of a muster being called, Ali Mohammed Zayee, upon a signal from the Navaub, gave the finishing stroke to the business, and cutting off the Navaub Buhadoor's

head, cast it down from the terrace to the ground. The Navaub's friends advised him to treat the Hindoo in the same manner, but as Soorj Mull was accompanied by one thousand men, and was besides really the friend of the Navaub, the advice was not followed. Ahmed Shah was extremely offended at this action, but did not resent it at that time. He soon after appointed Ghazooddeen his prime minister. Ghazooddeen having made the Tooranians his friends, had a dispute with Sufdur Jung; at last the whole city was in an uproar, and the Navaub not thinking it prudent to remain in it longer, encamped at Barah Côôlee. The troops of Soorj Mull plundered and demolished the old fort. A warfare was carried on for a considerable time between Ghazooddeen and the Navaub Sufdur Jung, Rajah Madhoo Singh having come from Jyepoor, exerted himself to make up matters; Navaub Sufdur Jung, having decamped along with Soorj Mull, and left his

Begum in Delhi, marched towards Oude. When the news of the arrival of Mulhar became known, the Navaub, on setting out for Oude, said to Soorj Mull, that he would, if he desired him, remain and share fortunes with him; Soorj Mull replied, that he would fight the Mahrattas as long as he could; but requested him to proceed according to his intentions. In short, the Navaub set out on his march; Mulhar Row, who had been invited by Ghazooddeen Khawn, prepared to engage Soorj Mull. He having strengthened Bhurutpoor, marched into Comair. Ghazooddeen Khawn and the army of Jyepoor, were also along with Mulhar, and they invested the fort closely for the space of three months.* However gallantly the Mahratta army attempted to pass the intrenchments of the town, they were unable to accom-

* Ghazôôddeen compelled to raise the siege of Baurutpore after three months investure.

plish it, and the troops of the fort came off victorious in this attack. One day Khundoo, Mulhar's son having left the army, was galloping along to take the amusement of hunting; upon his approaching the fort, the Jauts suddenly discharged a volley of musketry upon him,—he received a mortal wound in the breast and expired. Mulhar Row, with his head and feet bound, came out of his tent, and calling for his son's body, gave a vent to his sorrows, and tore his garments. Soorj Mull made many apologies for what had happened, and adopted conciliating measures. In fine, Mulhar Row, seeing that it was impossible to succeed in taking the fort, entered into terms of peace, and the business was concluded by a payment of seven Lacks of Rupees. In order to obviate the disgrace of being foiled in this affair, he fell upon Ahmed Shah in the vicinity of Akburabad, and after plundering him, set out for the Decan. The Navaub Sufdur Jung, having settled the affairs of the pro-

vinces, returned to the capital, and in a few days after, proceeding to take revenge on the Rohillas, he carried Soorj Mull along with him. In their action with the Rohillas, Soorj Mull displayed prodigies of valour, but the Navaub at last received a defeat—a thousand Rohillas issuing suddenly out of a plantation of sugar canes, began to discharge their rockets, which drove the Mogul army from the field. The second time the Navaub proceeded against the Rohillas, Soorj Mull again accompanied him, and received a grant of land in reward of his services. Purtheel Singh the Talookdar of Sunsney, who had always been tributary to Soorj Mull, relying upon his own resources, and the strength of his fort, all at once refused to pay his tribute. The Rajah Soorj Mull set forward to demolish the fort Mundsan; Purtheel Singh also took the best measures for its defence, and prepared for battle. The blockade of the fort had continued for one month and a half, when

the news came that Ahmed Shah Dooranee had arrived near Panniput: Rajah Nagur Mull, and the other chiefs of the capital who were along with Soorj Mull, advised him to march from where he was, and that Mundsan would fall some other time; Soorj Mull accordingly decamped; Juwaher Singh represented to him, that for his own part, he would not leave the place till had taken it, and as for him, he might depart to look after his forts. Although Soorj Mull used all his endeavours to dissuade him, he would not listen to him, but remained behind, and Soorj Mull marched away. Juwaher Singh having at night prepared for an assault, sent to apprize the governor of the fort, that he would destroy Mundsan that very day, and that if he had any regard for his own welfare, he would make submission. Purtheel Singh, through dread of Juwaher Singh, wrapt himself up in a coarse blanket, and abandoned the fort. Juwaher Singh having demolished the fort,

returned to Deeg. The Shah arriving at Muthra, put the inhabitants to the sword; and the troops of Juwaher Singh, who were encamped near Azimpore, were all cut to pieces, after an engagement of three hours. A Peshcush from the rulers of Hindostaun was accepted by the Shah, and the payment of ten Lacks fell to the share of Soorj Mull. The money had almost been paid, and had been taken out of his treasury at Bhurutpoor, when all at once the Shah set out for his own country before he could receive it. Juwaher Singh maintaining his troops at a high rate of pay, and having 500 cavalry equipped in armour in his service, he had continual disputes with Soorj Mull for the money, and used to confine the Naibs of the different stations, and take their cash from them. In spite of Soorj Mull's remonstrances, and several persons of confidence being sent to him on the subject, he did not desist from these practices; in fine, every thing was drawing to a rupture between

them, when Budun Singh represented to Soorj Mull how improper it was to give offence to Juwaher Singh, and advised him to conciliate his good-will. Upon this, some confidential persons were sent to invite him; and a payment of three or four Lacks of Rupees settled all differences. Two or three months after this, the flame broke out anew, and Juwaher Singh, upon the demise of Budun Singh, strengthened himself in the fort of Deeg, and revolted against Soorj Mull, Row Rutton Singh, the younger brother of Juwaher Singh, was also joined with him in the fort. Both brothers were guilty of great improprieties, which gave Soorj Mull much offence; hostilities commenced at last, and Soorj Mull drew out his army. Juwaher Singh's friends maintained the contest in the fort. One day Soorj Mull's troops having made an assault on the garrison, came close up to the banks of the ditch; Juwaher Singh, sallying out in person, repulsed the foe, but in returning, he

was wounded by a musket shot, and fell from his horse. Soorj Mull was much distressed at the news, and running up in a state of distraction to his son's body, clasped it in his embrace. When Juwaher Singh recovered from his swoon, he said to his father, "You have set yourself against me, should I happen to survive, I will remove myself far from your sight." Soorj Mull treated him with the greatest tenderness and affection, and entering Deeg along with him, was occupied for a considerable time in promoting his recovery. His wound was healed in the course of a month. An account of the pay due to the troops being made out, Soorj Mull settled Muvat and other places as a Jaidad for that purpose. Juwaher Singh, from his propinquity to the territories of the Bulooches of Furrokhnuggar, &c. was constantly engaged in a petty warfare with them. Nujub Khawn, who was the guardian of Moosa Khawn, wrote to Soorj Mull, to advise Juwaher

Singh to keep within his own bounds, and not to make advances upon the Balooches, who were in alliance with him; and that in the event of his not desisting, he would send an army to their succour. Soorj Mull wishing to gratify Juwaher Singh, engagements still continued to take place with the Balooches every day, and Juwaher Singh, not content with having made himself master of many of their places, resolved to get possession of Furrokhnuggar. Nujub Khawn dispatched a body of troops to assist the Balooches; but from the powerful force under Juwaher Singh, they met with no success. Soorj Mull, upon this, determined to expel the Balooches from their country entirely, and prepared himself for the execution of this project. Nujub Khawn dispatched some confidential persons to him; but he would listen to no terms of accommodation. Having laid siege to Furrokhnuggar, he took Moosa Khawn prisoner, and sending him to Deeg, set out

himself for the capital. Nujub Khawn again wrote to him every thing that might conciliate matters, but fate overruled all, and the flame of war blazed forth. In fine, Soorj Mull made preparation to engage Nujub Khawn, and skirmishes took place between the parties for some time. One day Sydoo, and the other Balooches, to the number of 3 or 4000 persons, having advanced forward, drew themselves up in order of battle. Nahir Singh, the son of Soorj Mull, and his greatest favorite, proceeded to engage them, and the action grew warm on both sides. The Rohillas pressing forward, Soorj Mull mounted his horse to bring his son aid; and, although his generals besought him to remain, whilst they should themselves proceed; he would not listen to their advice, but impelled by fate, galloped off with one or two hundred attendants. The remainder of his troops prepared also to follow; but, from the badness of the roads, and the fall of

night, they were unable to come up with him. Soorj Mull, with the force along with him, began the engagement. Yukee Khawn, Meer Moonshee, advised him to desist for the present, as it was not a proper time, and that they should put an end to the business next day. As the cup of his life was now filled to the brim, the words of any person had no effect. The Rohillas advancing, fell upon his troops, and Soorj Mull was slain in the action. The generals of his army were disheartened at this occurrence; and keeping up a strict watch all night, decamped early in the morning. Nujub Khawn's troops went in pursuit of them, and several other engagements took place. Juwaher Singh suspected Bulram, Moonshee Singh, and the other commanders, of having returned after the destruction of Soorj Mull, and of having looked on at a distance, without going to his assistance. Concealing his sentiments at that time, and keeping up appearances with them all, he

made vigorous preparations to take vengeance on the Rohillas. Having distributed fifty Lacks of Rupees amongst his troops, he marched towards the capital, and engaging Mulhar Row, Dekhul Singh, and others in this business, settled their daily allowances. They besieged the capital for three months, and Nujub Khawn had almost abandoned it, when Mulhar Row, who was also friendly to the Jauts, coming forward as a mediator, brought about a peace. A Crore of Rupees had been expended in this affair. Rajah Juwaher Singh having had a conference with Nujub Khawn, proceeded to Akburabad. He then confined Buhram and Hensuk, who being men of high principles, put themselves to death. Juwaher Singh soon after formed a scheme of getting possession of the fort of Deer, belonging to Buhadoor Singh. Having invested the place, and taken Buhadoor Singh prisoner, he impaled and ripped up

the bellies of those friends who had been his advisers. Another governor being appointed for Deer, he returned to Deeg. After remaining there for sometime he again set out for Doulpoor, and made prisoner Sultan Row Lahoonah, who was in that place. Proceeding to Kalpee, in the very middle of the rainy season, he plundered and laid waste the country of the Mahrattas, and then returned to Akburabad. His chief architect received orders to build anew the Meena Bazar of the fort; and as it was his pleasure that Akburabad should become a populous city, the great merchants received most positive instructions to use their utmost endeavours in whatever might be conducive to that effect; and likewise had liberty to take as much money as might be necessary for the encouragement of trade. In a word, the city became populous. At that time the Vakeels of the Rana of Gohud, arrived with information, that Rugnaut

Row had advanced with a body of 4000 horse to expel the Rana from his country, and they requested his assistance, as the Rana was under his government, and his ancestors had also been in his service. Rajah Juwaher Singh, upon this application, marched out and encamped on the borders of the Jung. Both parties had nearly come to an engagement, but the disturbances in the Decan compelling Rugnaut Row to return thither, he made up a peace. Rajah Juwaher Singh having discharged the duties of friendship to the Rana, went to Bhurutpoor.

The beginning of the war that ensued between Rajah Juwaher Singh and Rajah Madho Singh, was, in the first place, owing to the following circumstance. Nahur Singh, the eldest son of Soorj Mull, being offended with Juwaher Singh had gone to Jyepoor, where he died, and left his family. Although Juwaher Singh wrote in the strongest terms to Madho Singh that they

should be sent back to him, it did not meet with his concurrence. A second cause was the government of Gaman, lying close to the territories of Juwaher Singh, which was by no means agreeable to him; and he sent a message to Madho Singh, desiring him to give it up, as well as Gouheree, and Baharee also. To all this Rajah Madho consented, and informed his counsellors that he would deliver them up. Dutal Singh, Hursahaee, Goorsahaee, and the other generals of celebrity, and the Buckshees of his army replied, that to what he had resolved upon, they would not give their consent: should Juwaher Singh be inclined to fight for Gaman, they would also march to its relief; and should he advance and come to this quarter, they would not avoid giving him battle. Rajah Juwaher Singh, who was steady in his purpose of coming to blows, prepared to set out, under the pretence of performing sacred ablutions at Pheekur. Taking with him 20,000 cavalry and 40,000

foot of the battalions of Shumroo, and others, besides his Hubshee artillery, he reached Pheekur. Rajah Bujy Singh, the chief of Marwar, came there also to join him. After a lapse of 15 days, when Juwaher Singh was preparing to return homewards, Bujy Singh observed to him that Rajah Madho Singh had collected together a numerous army, and could give him battle; and that, therefore, it was more adviseable he should be permitted to accompany him, as in the event of coming to action, their united forces might ensure the success of the day. Rajah Juwaher Singh refusing to lay himself under such obligations, dismissed Rajah Bujy Singh, who went to Judupoor, and he himself departed from Ohukur. Early in the morning, while the army were on their march, near the Pilut, the Rajepoots, under the command of Dutul Singh, Goorsahaee Hursahaee, and other experienced generals, having gone out to oppose the army of

Juwaher Singh, took their ground, and the van of both parties became engaged. The Rajepoots by degrees bore down upon the standard elephant of the army, and were received by Juwaher's veteran troops with the greatest gallantry. Finding themselves foiled in this attempt, and 5 or 600 men having fallen on both sides, the Rajepoots turned their attack to another quarter, and fell upon the Mogul troops, commanded by Budel Beg, and other Touranians. They, without waiting to encounter the shock, took immediately to flight. Juwaher Singh, notwithstanding this, maintained his ground, but his flanks were much exposed to the enemy by the base desertion of his Mogul troops. He was then attacked by a body of 10,000 horse, and was prevented from drawing out his army to the best advantage by the uneven face of the country. Towards evening, Dutul Singh and the other generals having prepared their horse to charge, all the officers of rank were killed

by a discharge of artillery; but this did not discourage the Rajepoots, who were prevented from falling into confusion, by other generals, such as Dhaee Rhaee, of the army of Juwaher Singh. A fourth part only remained, and they had all dispersed themselves to seek for shelter. The Rajepoots retired to their encampment; Juwaher Singh decamped by star-light, and reached Aloor in three days. Madhoo Singh setting out in pursuit of him, laid waste several places in his march. A treaty was concluded between the parties, and Juwaher Singh departed for Akburabad. Here he passed some time in relaxation and pleasure, and then resolved to march to Jyepoor, saying, that this time he would carry a thousand horse along with him. One day going upon the top of Amur Singh's house to amuse himself with the sight of two elephants fighting together, as he was descending, after the conclusion of the battle, he was assassinated

by a person lying in wait for him. Row Rutten Singh now succeeded to the command. He was a man devoted to pleasure, having in his train 700 carriages and bands of musicians, and used to lavish Lacks of Rupees upon different people. His government lasted for nine months. Roopanund Goosain, who had deceived most of the generals, laid a snare for him also; by telling him that he was well versed in the art of alchymy, and could convert quicksilver into ashes. He swallowed the deceit, and taking him into his service, shewed him every attention. The period in which Roopanund had engaged to perform the experiment having elapsed, Row Rutten Singh told him, that if it was not done that day, he would put him to death. Roopanund knowing that he must forfeit his life, concealed a knife in his sleeve, and coming into the presence of the Row, informed him that the experiment was ready. Having called for copper and quicksilver,

he lighted a furnace, and beginning to blow it, he told Row Rutten Singh that he must dismiss his attendants, for should the shadow of any person (which God forbid) fall upon the furnace, the whole operation would be rendered void. The Row accordingly sent all his followers out of the tent; but they remained standing round the outside. Roopanund drawing his knife, thrust it into Row Rutten's left side. His attendants, upon hearing his deep groans, rushed into the tent, and putting the assassin to death, caused his family and dependants to be trodden under foot by elephants. The chiefs, who had accompanied the Row, having returned to Deeg, appointed his son Kusree Singh to succeed him, and raised Nawil Singh, the son of Soorj Mull, to the rank of Naib. At that time every thing was in perfect tranquillity, and the government was settled in the usual manner. Not long after, 10 or 12,000 Sieks having advanced as far as

Houd-al, to lay waste and plunder the country, Nawil Singh hastened to meet them, and obtaining a victory, returned in triumph, and encamped at Gomhur. Going one day into the city to visit the Kishwuree and others, Jejoe Ram and the other ministers rushed in and seized him, and set up Rajah Runjut Singh in his place. While they were laying this plot, Nawil Singh, by some pretext, got out, and joining his troops, in revenge for such treachery, invested the place closely, and tributed 70 Lacks of Rupees among his soldiers. For three months hostilities were carried on; but meeting with no success, a reconciliation was brought about. Soon after this, Ram Chund, Gunnesh and Puttyl, and the Soobadar Tukeejee Holkar arriving in the neighbourhood of Jyepoor, demanded a Peshcush from Nawil Singh. This he flatly refused; the Mahrattas again sent their Vakeels, and made use of every means to intimidate him. Nawil

Singh remained firm in his resolution. Jyoo Ram, proceeding to the camp of the Mahrattas, incited them, by his accounts of the richness and fertility of the country, to march on and engage Nawil Singh under the protection of Gomhur, whilst he should supply them with ammunition and whatever military stores might be wanted. The Mahrattas, thus reinforced, marched to Gomhur and halted there some days; they then determined to depart thence, for the purpose of arranging the affairs of the provinces. Having accordingly decamped, they came to Kanond, which lies in the vicinity of Goordhun. Nawil Singh set out in pursuit of them. The Mahrattas, without pitching their tents, seized their arms and advanced to give him battle. The troops of Nawil Singh might amount to 10 or 12,000 horse and foot; the remainder of his army having returned to fetch their tents and baggage. An action commenced. However gallantly the Mah-

rattas pushed on to the attack, they were obliged again to retreat, by the steady behaviour of Nawil Singh's men. The battle was maintained with great courage for three hours; at last by a furious charge of Shewa Sunker's troops, Moosa Mustap was put to flight; and the Mahrattas being enabled to close with Nawil Singh in that quarter, a hot engagement ensued. Nawil Singh's troops being inferior to the enemy in number, they were compelled to fly. The Mahrattas having thus gained the victory, marched forward, and made themselves masters of many places. Nawil Singh sent his Vakeels to them and purchased a peace at the price of thirty Lacks of Rupees; and lands to the amount of 12 Lacks yearly revenue, were also confirmed to Runjut Singh. Both these chiefs lived together for some time, when the Mahrattas brought the emperor (A. D. 1772.) from Poourt to the capital. Mirza Nuzuff Khawn, captain general of the royal

forces, raised an army to oppose them. In the end he was worsted, but being a soldier, and a man of tried bravery, the Soobadar took him under his protection. Upon the return of the Mahrattas to the Decan, they sent a message to Nawil Singh, informing him, that there was no person to be feared in the king's army but Nuzuff Khawn, who, if he should ever be enabled to assemble a force, would show what he was; and that, therefore, the most prudent course was to make him his friend. In addition to this, a letter also arrived from Nuzuff Khawn. Nawil Singh considered the whole in a trifling light. Mirza Nuzuff Khawn maintaining an army in the capital, had the sole direction of all affairs. A letter from the emperor was sent to Nawil Singh requiring him to abandon the places in the vicinity of the capital. Nawil Singh not consenting, Mirza Nuzuff Khawn drew out his troops and encamped at Barah Poollah.

Three battalions and 2000 horse were also dispatched to the opposite side of the river. Nawil Singh marched from Muthra to give Nuzuff Khawn battle: his counsellors represented to him that it was improper to wage war against his majesty, and that he had better conciliate the king's good will, by giving up a few places. The evil fate of Nawil Singh predominated over this advice. He dispatched Danza and others to the opposite side of the river, where they engaged the royal troops and suffered a defeat. Mirza Nuzuff Khawn immediately proceeded to Howdul; a battle was fought in the plain of Bursana, and his troops had nearly been worsted, and the battalions of Ruza Beg and others cut off, when suddenly some thousand men issued from an ambuscade in the Junwar fields, and fell upon the enemy. Choudeeree Sita Ram instantly took to flight, and the rest of the army were compelled to retreat. By this fortunate circumstance defeat was converted to victory. Nawil Singh,

upon receiving this overthrow retired to Deeg, and Mirza Nuzuff Khawn, marching to Akburabad, reduced the country to order, and closely invested the fort. Row Kishen Singh, a Vakeel on the part of Nawil Singh, being sent to request aid from the Vizier Ool Moomalik Bahadoor, the Navaub Vizier gave the most friendly assurances, and said that he was ready to serve him; but that as the emperor was concerned, and Nuzuff Khawn commanded the royal forces, he durst not do it openly; that Nawil Singh, however, should give him the fort of Akburabad, and he himself remain master of the Soobahdaree; and by these means his army should unite with him, and Mirza Nuzuff Khawn be expelled from his territories. Row Kishen Singh wrote an account of all these matters to Nawil Singh, which accordingly having been agreed to by him, the Navaub sent his battalions to Akburabad. The commander of the fort, in the hopes of being rewarded with a present of money and a Jagheer

come secretly to Mirza Nuzuff Khawn, and agreed to evacuate it in his favour. Mirza Nuzuff Khawn thus got possession of the fort, at which the Navaub Vizier was much offended. Nawil Singh seeing that Mirza Nuzuff Khawn was firmly established in the country, sent Vakeels to him to treat for peace. Shortly after Rajah Runjut Singh waited upon him also, and he having gone to the presence of the Navaub Vizier Ool Moomalik Bahadoor, introduced the Rajah to the Navaub, who gave him a very friendly reception. Upon Nuzuff Khawn's departure, the Navaub Vizier insisted very strongly with him on the subject of Nawil Singh and Runjut Singh's aggrandizement. In fine, they all went together to the capital, where Runjut Singh remained for some time without being able to settle his business; Nuzuff Khawn putting him off from day to day, by various pretexts and excuses. When he was well convinced that they were only deceiving him, and meant in reality to do nothing, he departed without

giving notice to Nuzuff Khawn, and arrived at Kishen Ghur. Leaving that, and proceeding to Deeg, he joined Nawil Singh. Mirza Nuzuff Khawn, to prevent further disturbances, set out also and came to Gaman, which place he surprised. He then made himself master of many other places, dependant on Jyepoor. The Jyepoor army, under the command of Khoosh, hal Ram Lohra, to the number of 20,000 horse, came to Deeg, and entered into a treaty with Nawil Singh, to co-operate with him in in the war. Accompanied by Nawil Singh's troops, they went several times, apparently to offer the enemy battle; but they had not courage to make the attack. In the course of a few days, matters were made up between them and Mirza Nuzuff Khawn; upon which they returned to Jyepoor. Nawil Singh being unable of himself to continue the contest, was employed in strengthening his fortresses, and took measures for raising another army. Accordingly he gave

Ruheem Dad Khawn, the Rohilla, a monthly allowance of one Lack of Rupees, and took into his service some thousand horse from the Decan and elsewhere. He then resolved to offer Nuzuff Khawn battle, who was stationed at the distance of one or two Kros from Deeg; but this plan was never carried into execution, for it pleased fate to take him off by a bloody flux.

Runjut Singh came to Deeg, in company with Juswunt Row, the Mahratta. In the course of ten or twenty days suspicion and jealousy arose among the tribe; and Kheree Singh, the agent of Kishree Singh, formed the villainous design of expelling Rajah Runjut Singh: in short, having inspired the Rohillas with hopes, they played a treacherous game with Runjut Singh, who, upon the Rohillas' approaching his house, sent his Moonshee to Juswunt Row, with an account of what had taken place. Juswunt Row, having mounted his horse, proceeded with troops to Runjut Singh's

assistance, and conveying him out of Deeg, carried him to Komheer. The Rohillas, seeing that there remained no general in the city, proposed to violate their agreements, and having taken possession of the city wall, made a demand of eight Lacks of Rupees. Kishree Singh's minister offered them two Lacks, but they would not accept of it. During the night, the mother of Kishree Singh having escaped from her house with his son, gained the fort of Buhkter, and wrote to Runjut Singh, that all the mischief and distrust which had arisen was the work of fate, and that interested people had sown the seeds of dissension between the parties; if he still retained any regard for the reputation and honour of Soorj Mull's family, that he should instantly come to her relief, and otherwise that they would all blow themselves up with gunpowder. In the morning, when Ruheem Dad Khawn was informed of Kishree Singh's flight to the fort of Bukhteshee, he gave orders to his

troops to lay waste and plunder Deeg, permitting them to retain possession of whatever slaves or effects might fall into their hands. The Rohillas set fire to the city on the side of Shahpoor, beating down a number of houses, and putting to death Thakoor Chutter Singh, the governor of the fort of Buhkter, who had come to assist in quelling the tumult. Rajah Runjut, upon receipt of the letter, sent for Juswunt Row, and told him that there was no time to be lost in saving Deeg, as the Rohillas had designs upon his honour and reputation, and that if it was agreeable to him to lend him his assistance, he might; but if not, he must himself proceed there at any rate. Juswunt Row mounting, with his most trusty and faithful adherents, and setting off with the greatest expedition, came up with and gave battle to Ruheem Dad Khawn's troops. The inhabitants of Deeg, who were also of the Jaut tribe, assembling in a mass, fell upon the Rohillas. The evil

stars of the Rohillas prevailing, thousands of them perished in the city, and the remainder fled from all parts in the greatest consternation. Ruheem Dad Khawn, upon his defeat, made his escape towards Bursame. Next day Runjut Singh Bahadoor entered Deeg, and restored order. Mirza Nuzuff Khawn, who was encamped about ten kros off, considering the defeat of the Rohillas as a favourable opportunity, advanced and closely besieged the city. Hostilities were carried on for the space of three months. The Jummadar of the artillery having met the Navaub, told him, that he would deliver him up the fort empty; for this purpose, he demanded that two battalions and 2,000 horse should be sent along with him, that during the night he might admit the troops over the wall into the fort, and that, immediately upon the engines being planted upon the ramparts, an assault should be commenced. Accordingly, when night came on, the engineer

acting as their conductor led the battalion of Moosa Muduk to the side of the ditch, and stationed two hundred Pelingias in the tower of the fort. While Mirza Nuzuff Khawn having advanced to Cheekee about midnight with ten or twelve thousand horse and foot, took up his ground. The Telingians on a sudden beat their drums; the Jauts, who were stationed on the ramparts, awoke and discharged their pieces; but all their exertions were unsuccessful; at last Rajah Runjut Singh, mounting a horse without a saddle, wished to proceed to the quarter of the Rohillas: some brave Jauts who accompanied him opposed this resolution, and told him that he might act as he pleased after they were gone, but that for themselves they were resolved to shed the last drop of blood in his service, and with these words forty persons drawing their swords, fell upon the Telingians with great fury. A hundred Telingians were slain in the tower, and the rest slipping

from the ramparts into the ditch, the Jauts descended after them, and put numbers of them to the sword. Moosa Mudut fled from thence in the greatest trepidation; the Jaut troops, sallying from the fort, engaged the enemy in the plain, and a bloody carnage would have ensued, had not Zuffer-yab Khawn advanced from the main body, and carrying every thing before him like a torrent, checked their further progress. The same day the lines of the besiegers were further removed from the town. When the Navaub had again recruited his forces, and Nuzuff Koolee Khawn and Goosain, with others, had joined him, the siege was renewed, and every measure taken to cut off the supplies of the garrison. When the grain in the city had been all consumed (one Asar of it not being procurable even for five Rupees), Rajah Runjut Singh was reduced to the last extremity, and leaving Deeg under cover of night, escaped unperceived to Bhurutpoor. Mirza Nuzuff Khawn

having taken possession of Deeg, turned his thoughts soon after to the capture of the fort of Komheer, but he did not rashly proceed to invest it immediately. In the meeting held at Komheer, Rajah Runjut Singh's affairs were finally arranged by the mediation of Mohammed Beg Khawn Hamadanee, and a tract of country, yielding a yearly revenue of eight Lacks, was appointed for his Jaidad. The Navaub, upon adjusting the affairs of this Zillah, went to the capital, where he was the means of Abdoollahud Khawn's ruin. Upon the death of Mirza Nuzuff Khawn, the Jauts renewed their depredations, and killed the Amildars and Foujedars. Mahommed Beg Khawn and others were sent to chastise them, and they received a severe overthrow: upon this they made up matters with him. Mirza Shuffee Khawn, who had received from his majesty the honorary dress of Ameerooloomra, came to Runjut Singh, to demand a Peshkush for the Sharadah. Upon Run-

jut Singh giving a positive refusal, Mirza Shuffee Khawn took possession of his territories. After the death of Shuffee Khawn, when Afraiseab Khawn had subdued their country, the negotiation was renewed: the Jauts wished to come to an arrangement through Major Brown, but Afraiseab Khawn insisted upon severe terms, and was privately displeased with the interference of the English. The agents of the Jauts took their leave and departed. At the same time Afraiseab Khawn was assassinated by some person in the neighbourhood of Akburabad. Maha Rajah Aleejah Madho Scindea arrived, and having taken one Lack and some great guns from Runjut Singh, withdrew from his territories. When the Muhah Rajah Aleejah Bahadoor marched his army towards Jyepoor, and was defeated by the Rajepoots, he crossed the Chumbul. Ismael Beg Khawn having reached Akburabad, prepared to engage Runjut Singh. Although Runjut Singh wished much to ac-

commodate matters by a payment of money, the Khawn would listen to no terms. Rajah Runjut Singh accordingly collected his forces, and sent Shah Nezam-ooddeen to Puttyal Sahib, who dispatched Rame Khawn and Racejee to his assistance. At this time Ghollam Kader, the Rohilla, joined Ismael Beg Khawn, and they commenced hostilities against Runjut Singh. The Mahrattas and Runjut Singh received a defeat. Disheartened by their loss, the Mahrattas advised Runjut Singh to adopt prudent measures. He replied, that he was resolved upon maintaining the contest with Ismael Beg Khawn and Ghollam Kader, and that if they would remain with him, he would keep them in his service, and was ready to shew them every attention and favour; but if they wished to depart, he would not detain them. Rame Khawn seeing that Runjut was steady in his purpose, thought it improper for himself to cross the Chumbul. Ismael Beg and Ghollam Kader, in-

toxicated with their success, approached Deeg and commenced an assault. The garrison did not abandon the ramparts, and a thousand Rohillas, after two successive attacks, were left dead on the field. Both commanders, disappointed in their views, returned to Akburabad, where the bonds of their union being dissolved, Ghollam Kader departed thence, and Baboo Chearjin having arrived, put Ismael Khawn to death. Afterwards when Ghollam Kader went to the capital, and treated his majesty in so cruel a manner, Puttyl Sahib (Scindia) came up, and having taken him prisoner at Meerut, where he had retired to defend himself, brought him along with him.

Of the resolution and firmness of mind of Rajah Runjut Singh no one can entertain a doubt. For the period of twenty years, during which he has had the command, he has never betrayed symptoms of pusillanimity, notwithstanding many severe shocks he has encountered; and who-

ever has entered into his service, has met with the best treatment. As to his power at present, he is possessed of a country valued at twelve or thirteen Lacks of Rupees; and he has under him 50 or 60,000 of his own tribe, who are always ready to defend his fortress, or subdue territory in the event of any revolution. All descriptions of people are happy under his government; and he has in his pay 5 or 6,000 mercenary horse and foot. May Almighty God long preserve his family prosperous and flourishing.

REMARKS

ON THE

MOST ELIGIBLE METHOD OF CONDUCTING AN ARMY IN THE WEST AND NORTH WESTERN PARTS OF INDIA.

A.D. 1801.

IN no season should an officer commanding troops in the west of India advance into the sandy countries of Judupoor, Beykanere, or Jyepoor, until assured that there is sufficient water for supplying his army at the place where he intends to encamp; every means that prudence can suggest should be adopted to prevent the natives of the country from filling up the wells, which they frequently do, with the addition of throwing poison into them.

The parties detached on this duty ought to fortify themselves, as soon as they

arrive at the ground; this will guard against surprise from the enemy, and prevent their throwing poison into the wells by stealth in the night; in this post the forage should be deposited without loss of time, otherwise the enemy will burn it; provisions likewise should be searched for in the houses of the natives, who will either take away what they have concealed, or destroy it altogether.

Should an army advance into the Beykanere or Judupoor countries, means ought to be adopted to preserve the wells in the rear of the army, otherwise the natives will destroy them in order to increase the difficulty and intimidate the commander from advancing, by the apprehension of his retreat being cut off; another practice, equally destructive, is the mixing of arsenic with the flour, and sending people to dispose of it for sale in the enemy's camp; regulations, therefore, ought to be established in the invading

army to prevent any accident happening from such kind of treachery.

The time best adapted for invading these countries is, either in the latter part of the rainy season, or the commencement of the winter: as at those seasons forage, and, in some few places, water may be had without difficulty.

Wood is very scarce, and it will be requisite that the army be well supplied with that article, and in particular the artillery. In some parts of Rajepootaneh forage and wood may be procured without difficulty; and in all parts of the country some tenable posts will be found sufficiently convenient for erecting magazines and hospitals; and as the Rajepoots are not accustomed to the use of artillery, the fortified posts, before-mentioned, with a few exceptions, would in general be found evacuated, and might, when in our possession, be easily defended by a small number of men.

There are, moreover, passes in this country, which, as we have no good map nor knowledge thereof, should not be entered until the necessary precautions are taken, by reconnoitring their position.

The city of Oudeipoor, for instance, which is situated in an amphitheatre of hills, has but one road that admits of a carriage, there are two other narrow passes, where a single horse only can advance at one time, such also is the pass called Busswara, narrow and dangerous; it is inhabited by a race of people who, trusting to the protection afforded them by their mountains, are remarkably daring, and noticed for their audacity in night attacks.

The country of Beykanere has no place of real strength, except the city and fort; though Chunoo, Raugehham, and Bahudra, are considered by the natives as places of considerable strength; their chief want is a scarcity of water. A regiment of infantry with two battering cannon and mor-

tars, would be sufficient to take the strongest of them in a day.

The country of Beykanere, being in a manner a level plain, contains but few fortified places; yet in all the mountainous countries which are inhabited by Rajepoots, you must expect to meet with forts of more or less strength.

Should a war with the Mahrattas take place, it was the opinion of the late General Thomas, that an alliance with the Rajepoot states would be of essential service to the British interests. The most powerful prince of those states is the Rajah of Oudeipore, who thinks he has a just claim on the fortress, city, and district of Ajmeer, with half of the Peryunnah of Sambhur, which was held during the late war by Mr. Perron for Dowlet Row Scindia. The aggregate annual revenue of those districts may be computed at 125 Lacks of Rupees; the duties on salt of the Samber lake included, so that by promising the Rajah the

possession of these places and protection against the Mahrattas, General Thomas thought that prince might be induced to take the field in person, with at least 20,000 good cavalry, which, during the campaign, would be of little expense to the British government.

An alliance with the Jyepoor Rajah might probably be obtained, by putting him in possession of the districts of Caunneh and Kannaud, which formerly belonged to the princes of his family, and by assisting him in reducing the Row Rajah, whom he considers a dependant or vassal to the throne of Jyepoor: by holding out these advantages to him, the Jyepoor prince would most likely be induced to take the field with 20 or 25,000 cavalry, which number the fertility of his country could easily supply with all sorts of stores and necessaries in the greatest abundance.

The Rajah of Judupoor, though not of equal consequence in regard to force, with

either of the former, still the situation of his territory is such, that he might be of considerable service in a war with the Mahrattas: his country being in a manner a key to the western provinces of Malwa and Goozerat. The Judupoor prince has, of late years, been deprived of a considerable part of his country by the Mahrattas, in whose hands he is a mere cipher. Though his nobility continue their attachment and veneration to his person, and would with their followers assemble at the first summons, were any hopes afforded of rescuing themselves from the iron scourge of their enemies.

The force of the Rajah of Judupoor, and his assembled chiefs, might amount to 12,000 men, 2000 of which are Sindys, who inhabit the banks of the river Indus or Sind, they have lands allowed them in lieu of pay.

Considering, therefore, that the Judupoor territories are strong both by nature

and art, and yield every thing common to the most fertile parts of India, an alliance with him might prove extremely serviceable to the British interests in India.

The Rajahs of Kota Boondy and Karolee have always found it their interests to submit to the strongest power, which policy they will be content to follow, as the smallness of their force, incompetent revenue, and local situation, leave them no other choice.

The countries north-west of Delhi, Jyepoor, Beykanere, the Batties,* and the Seiks, (most part of which latter power is included in the Cirbar of Hissar) might become of

* In the Battie country are numerous forts, which though easy so be taken by regular siege, are impregnable to the Seiks and other marauders. In the event, therefore, of subduing these people, a supply of forage and provisions ought to be deposited at proper places at a suitable distance from each other.

This supply is procurable from the latter end of the month of October until the month of May.

the greatest service to the possessor; for here, in rearing cattle, great plenty of excellent grass, little inferior to the hay in England, is produced, and preserved by the natives. Within the district above-mentioned, a sufficient number of horses to mount our cavalry, may likewise be procured; and a supply of bullocks and camels equal to the demand of our armies in India, may be obtained at a comparatively small expense to that which government is at present obliged to incur.

Should occasion ever arise to invade the Seik territories, the general who has charge of the expedition would enter that country to most advantage after the rainy season; but not until the wheat is actually sown, otherwise the Seiks, if they have reason to think the invader intends to keep possession of his conquests, will prevent the farmers from sowing their crops.

To prevent inconvenience arising from a scarcity of provisions, a commander in

chief, as he advances northward, might form alliances with the Rajahs of Daon, Naun, Serrynagur, and other Rajepoot princes of the mountains.

These are jealous of, and ill disposed towards the Seiks. The Pataun chiefs, likewise, of Molhair, Kotela, and Roy Kellaun,* Thahana Jugrour, and Kote Kellaun, who inhabit the district bordering on the great desert, would gladly join an invader who promised them protection from the Seiks, and would soon furnish provisions, forage, and other necessaries for the support of the invading army.

In Penjab are many large and populous

* Between the two towns of Tehara and Firzepore, on the banks of the river Suttege, is a large forest of old Sissoo trees. It was stated to be 14 Coss long and 6 Coss broad. The wood of this forest would be of great service in building boats and mounting artillery.

The neighbouring mountains also afford a plentiful supply of timbers of various sorts, and of the largest dimensions.

villages, all of which are well fortified; but most of their chiefs would ransom their villages rather than incur the risk of an attack.

At the commencement of the campaign it might perhaps be found necessary to have recourse to storming a few of the villages, but by kind treatment to such as submitted, and the contrary to those who stood on the defensive, the inhabitants would soon be brought under subjection; and it was the opinion of the late General Thomas, from whose information the above strictures were derived, that the conquest of the Penjab might be effected without difficulty in the course of a single campaign. A.D. 1802-3.

A PLAN

FOR THE

EXTENSION AND FUTURE SECURITY OF THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN INDIA.

THE continental powers of Europe, instigated or influenced by a jealousy of the ascendancy which the English have acquired in India, may, in a future war, unite their efforts with a view to dispossess us.

This consideration, as well as a knowledge of the bad faith of Indians in general, both Hindoos, and Mussulmans, have induced the author to commit to paper some hints regarding the present state of the western and northern powers of that Peninsula; obtained from the late General Thomas, who was of opinion that from the western side of India the approach of an enemy is to be expected.

Should any apprehensions exist for our safety in this country, the vigour of our government, strengthened by the impression made by the recent fall of Tippoo and his empire, on the minds of the natives, as well as the peace lately established in Europe, must, in a great measure, contribute to their removal.

But it is possible, that men of different abilities from our present GOVERNOR GENERAL and COMMANDER IN CHIEF* may be appointed to watch over the interests of British India.

It is possible that the French government may one day form treaties with the Russians; and peace being once established between the emperors, they may form a coalition, the basis of which will be the participation of the British possessions in India.

In this case, an army could be sent to India over land, and the practicability of

* Lord Lake and Marquis Wellesley, 1802-3.

the measure cannot be doubted, when we know that in the expected rupture with the Russians in 1791-2, the celebrated empress CATHARINE directed her counsellors to prepare a plan for invading India from the northern banks of the Caspian, and prince POTEMKIN actually gave in, by command of the empress, a march-route for the army.

Should it be argued that the security of our present possessions ought to form a paramount consideration to that of extending our frontier further westward; or that it would be wrong to infringe upon existing treaties with the Indian power, and in short, that we ought to remain as we are until attacked in our own dominions, or called upon by our allies to assist them; in this case there is no reasonable calculation of the numerous impending difficulties that await us on the event of our enemies attempting our expulsion by the assistance of the combined native powers.

If there were a want of arms, artillery, and ammunition, among the enemy, it would appear less formidable, but it is well known that Scindia and the Rajepoot princes possess more artillery than can be requisite for the prosecution of a war in India; and their countries can furnish a supply of saltpetre, iron, lead, timber, and bullocks, sufficient for all purposes; there might be a deficiency of good small arms, but our European enemies would supply them not only with officers, arms, and artificers, but every thing else they could stand in need of; as their resources would be drawn from the powers with whom they had formed alliances on their march.

It cannot be supposed that the French would encounter much difficulty in forming treaties either with the Mahrattas, the Rajepoots, or the Seiks, a similarity of sentiment may be said to prevail between the French and the Asiatics in their general character: they are alike ready in offers of

friendship, alike inclined to break treaties, when they do not find their advantage in keeping them, alike profuse in granting what is not their own, alike faithless, and, alike in their rooted and inveterate hatred to the interests of Great Britain.

Such was the reasoning of General Thomas; and supposing the native powers of Hindostaun were hostile to our enemies, and resolved to oppose them, still the French and Russians would be able to form alliances with the powers of the north, and the Mogul or Tartar chiefs, whose dominions they would traverse in their route; these powers could afford them the aid of considerable bodies of cavalry, and it is well known that the impetuous charge of the warlike horsemen of the north, is much dreaded by the inhabitants of southern Asia.

It is true that the British government may form treaties with the successors of Zemaun Shah and other Mussulman princes,

but these, like all Asiatics, would never think a treaty binding longer than while influenced by motives of self-interest.

How then would they deem themselves bound to abide by a treaty with us, when their own country was threatened by a foreign invading army, from whom they could not expect peace by any other means than that of uniting with them?

The prospect held out to them of participating in the division of Hindostaun, would of itself prove a sufficient inducement for them to join the common enemy, and to pass their natural boundary, the Indus.

If a British army were to wait the actual approach of an army who intended to occupy the banks of the Indus, it might be too late, as in default of a previous establishment of magazines and supplies, they must in the end be compelled to retreat, which, in India, from whatever cause it

may arise, has always been considered as paramount to a defeat.

In their retreat, the greater part of the native powers would join the standard of the enemy; and though it be admitted that the Indians are not able to cope with us in the field, they have evidently the power to lay waste our possessions; and, indeed, no part of the late war did so much credit to the abilities of our rulers at that time, as the prompt and decisive measures adopted by government for carrying the war at once into the territories of the enemy. The Company's possessions were saved by it.

If, on the contrary, the French were to be opposed in their passage across the Indus by a British army, the predatory tribes and Tartars would readily become their enemy, were it only with a view to get them out of their dominions.

It is evident that were the enemy allow-

ed to pass the Indus, to establish magazines, and to form treaties with such of the native provinces as they might draw over to their interest, they would then be able to begin the war with manifest advantage on their part.

Respecting our existing treaties with the Mahrattas, it may be said that it is improper to infringe on them; in answer to which, let it be observed, that the cruel usage often experienced by the officers and crews of British trading vessels who have frequently fallen into the hands of the pirates of that nation; as well as the conduct of Scindia in placing Frenchmen, the declared enemies to the English nation, at the head of his armies; the pointed enmity exhibited towards the British government in those particulars alone, has long since merited resentment; and personal safety calls aloud on our part for the means of prevention: against it may be argued, that the Seiks have never attacked the English, and it

would therefore be unjust to molest them in their lawful possessions. But when we consider, that the Seiks are in fact rebels, usurpers, and free-booters, a nation whose very laws and institutions authorize depredation in the territories of others, the question of justice in attacking them becomes entirely nugatory.

It is to the continual feuds and unsettled state of the Mahratta and Seik governments, as well as the respect which they and all other Indian powers at present entertain for our authority; and to the fall of Tippoo, that we are indebted for their present forbearance, they have long since ceased to respect the remains of imperial power, although the family of Timur have a just claim on Mahratta gratitude; the reason is obvious, they have nothing to fear from that unhappy family; and should the British government, by a reverse of fortune, be reduced to a state of similar imbecility, when attacked by powerful armies

from Europe, we may rest assured that the Seiks and Mahrattas will cease either to fear or to respect us.

Let us for a moment suppose that government had determined on taking possession of the western parts of India, yet, at the same time, wished to respect existing treaties, and to secure the Peeshwa in his present affluent circumstances; this might be effected without difficulty by entering into a treaty with that prince, in which the reduction of the powers of Scindia and Holkar, both in actual rebellion against him, should be a leading article. In return for the assistance thus afforded, the dominions of Scindia and Holkar, and all the countries north and west of the Nurbudda river, should be made over to us, and the country held by those chiefs south of the river Nurbudda, might, in exchange, be given to the Peeshwa; confining the power of Scindia and Holkar to their patrimonial estates at Ougein and Indore.

But if, through interested motives, the Peeshwa should refuse compliance with the above terms, and the British government nevertheless be determined on carrying their plan into execution; in that case the representative of the family of Seo Rajah, the lineal descendant of Sewajee, founder of the Mahratta empire, though now a prisoner in the fortress of Sattarah, might be placed on the throne, on the same or more advantageous terms.

Gratitude for his emancipation would no doubt bind this prince to the British interests, and a body of British troops might be stationed with him to support his authority, for the payment of which certain districts on the Malabar coast on the Koukan might be settled and assigned by the government of Bombay.

The plan respecting the Mahrattas being thus accomplished; let us suppose that government will next direct its view to the reduction of the Penjaub; this might

without difficulty be effected in a few months, by means of two or three brigades of British troops, together with the aid of the Rajepoot and other cavalry, the Seiks finding resistance ineffectual, would be glad to purchase peace at the expense of delivering up their horses and arms; consenting to become tributaries and return to their original occupation of husbandmen and cultivators of the soil.

Opposition in the north and south of India having ceased, we should next direct our attention to securing the possessions thus acquired. The late General Thomas was of opinion, that this might be effected by the construction of a fleet of boats on each of the rivers that constitute the Penjaub; and the erection of magazines on their banks at proper distances; and to prevent them from being occupied by an enemy, convenient docks should be built, defended by redoubts planted with cannon. The docks ought to be sufficiently large to

contain all the boats that could be placed in immediate security, and the enemy thereby completely prevented from passing into Hindostaun.

On obtaining possession of the Penjaub, and the consequent restoration of tranquillity, the country east of the river Attock, now in possession of the Avdallee prince, should, if possible, be acquired, which being done, every river in the north of the Penjaub might, as above shewn, be separately defended; and should an European army ever force its way across the Indus, the enemy in all probability (though superior in point of numbers) would, through want of magazines, be obliged to re-cross the river.

The advance of an enemy could be greatly retarded by making use of the desert to the southward; viz. by constructing reservoirs at convenient places, large enough to contain a supply of water for the British army for one or more days: they could be

filled during the rainy season; and by the same route supplies of all sorts could be transported on camels for the use of the troops: should it be found requisite to retreat, the destruction of these reservoirs would render the pursuit of an enemy impracticable. Our army might then take a new position opposite to the enemy, who would in the end either be compelled to retreat for want of provisions, or surrender at discretion.

This must be clear in the eyes of all persons who are acquainted with the situation of the country, and it is a matter not less apparent, or worthy of serious consideration, that if the French and Russians should hereafter unite, and the Grand Signor be persuaded or *compelled* to join their army, the French will doubtless give out as a pretext that they are going to re-establish the great Mogul in his rights on the throne of Delhi, the respect for whose

name, aided by the influence of the Grand Signor, would procure them an uninterrupted passage to Hindostaun; though experience has lately proved by the operations in Egypt, that Mussulmen alone cannot arrest the progress of European disciplined valour. In the event of a junction betwixt France and Russia for the purpose of participating in the dominion of India, if aided by the troops of the Grand Signor, we may, at a moderate calculation, estimate their united numbers at least at 100,000 men; a force, which, in its progress, would be magnified in the apprehensions of the natives, to double that amount, and the panic thereby occasioned, might induce them to join the enemy; while the coalesced powers, by forestalling us in raising a numerous cavalry in the countries through which they passed, would thus facilitate the accomplishment of their plans for our ruin, by the destruction of the sources of

revenue, in the predatory devastation of our finest provinces.

Their preservation, therefore, and the placing them in a state of real security, before a war takes place in Europe, should be a primary consideration. The late General Thomas always thought and asserted that immediate treaties ought to be formed with the Rajepoot states, who could furnish with ease an army of 50 or 60 thousand cavalry; this would more than put them upon equality with the invaders.

The Rajepoot princes being secured in our interests, we might next proceed to the reduction of the Mahratta powers by one of the plans already laid down, and next, the Seiks; after which, our whole attention should be directed to the defence of our western and northern frontier. The advantages to be derived from these successive operations, are obvious and manifold; and the aggregate benefits may be reduced under the following heads:

* 1st, Our annual revenues would be augmented to at least 5 Crores of Rupees; 2 Crores of which may be assigned to defray the expenses and charges of increase of troops for the protection of the newly acquired territories; so that a net income of three Crores would be realized, without reckoning the amount to be obtained from the country east of the Attock.

2dly, Our force will be increased to 50 thousand regular infantry, and the like number of cavalry, without infringing upon the current revenues of the Company's province.

3dly, We crush all our enemies and secure the means of prevention from future molestation.

4thly, We complete a strong and almost

* 1st. This is estimating the conquered provinces at their highest value, but if the revenue be sufficient only for the support of the troops the end will be fully answered. We have revenue enough from the DEWANEE and other possessions in the Peninsula of Hindostaun.

impregnable barrier to the north and westward.

5thly, We procure access to a salubrious climate for the re-establishment of the health of Europeans suffering from the temperature of Bengal.

6thly, We obtain a certain and plentiful supply of bullocks, horses, and camels, for the future demands of all our armies in India.

7thly, We turn the trade of Cashmire, the Penjaub, and all parts of Hindostaun into our own channels.

8thly, and lastly, We provide for the honourable support of the imperial family of Timur, thereby acquiring glory to ourselves in the eyes of all.

WILLIAM FRANCKLIN.

Benáres, 27th Sept. 1808.

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